

The University of Chicago

CHURCH GROWTH IN KOREA

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVINITY
SCHOOL IN CANDIDACY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF PRACTICAL THEOLOGY

1931

By
ALFRED WASHINGTON WASSON

Private Edition, Distributed by
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INTRODUCTION TO STUDIES IN THE WORLD MISSION OF CHRISTIANITY

ONE of the fortunate developments in connection with the world mission of Christianity has been the number of scholarly studies made of the history of particular phases of the missionary enterprise or of problems connected with it. Many of these remain unpublished, not because of any lack of value or importance, but because the number of those who would be interested in reading them is so limited that no commercial publishing house would find it profitable to bring them out. It is, however, of great importance that the best of them be made available in print to those primarily concerned for the world mission of Christianity. This is especially appropriate at the present time because of the great changes which are occurring in the lands of the younger churches and in what have usually been called the sending countries and of the imperative need of modifying traditional programs.

The Research Group of the International Missionary Council, created by action of the Committee of the Council at its meeting in Herrnhut in 1932, is very happy, therefore, to initiate, under the auspices of the International Missionary Council, a series of "Studies in the World Mission of Christianity—Occasional Papers Published by the International Missionary Council." The frequency with which future numbers will appear will depend partly upon the funds available and partly upon the quality of the studies offered for publication. It is hoped and expected, however, that the present book will prove simply the initial one of a series and that the whole will be of assistance to those who are giving time and thought to the world-wide extension of the Christian Gospel.

JOHN R. MOTT.

New York, 1934

FOREWORD

AS THE initial publication in the International Missionary Council's Occasional Papers the committee in charge feels itself fortunate to be able to publish the interesting and important study by Dr. A. W. Wasson on the history of the Southern Methodist mission in Korea. The Committee feels the study to be of significance partly because of the careful scholarship which has gone into its preparation, and partly because it emphasizes certain factors which influence the spread of Christianity and which are sometimes ignored by those giving their lives to the Christian mission. As will be seen by a perusal of the ensuing chapters, Dr. Wasson has noted the correlation between the rapid periods of growth and quiescence, on the one hand, and certain political and social movements in Korea on the other. Dr. Wasson and the Committee would of course be the first to recognize the truth that factors other than political and social have entered into the spread of Christianity in Korea. Committed as they have been and are to the missionary enterprise, they thankfully recognize that the churches in Korea have been primarily products of the movements of the spirit of God and owe an incalculable debt to the devoted labors of missionaries and of Korean Christians. They also recognize, of course, that the study is confined to the history of simply one mission in Korea and makes no attempt to deal with the history of the entire Christian movement in that country, and that it may seem to some readers that a study confined to one mission in one of the smaller countries of the Orient will not have particular significance for the worldwide missionary movement. Yet both the author and the Committee are convinced that the general thesis back of the study has far-reaching significance and is applicable to the Christian movement in most — and possibly all — lands in which it is to be found. The tides of the spirit which one sees in the church in

Korea and the labors of devoted missionaries are inevitably affected by general political and social movements, and the results which missions achieve are modified by factors other than the purely religious. The Committee feels that Dr. Wasson, in singling out for emphasis and describing with a good deal of detail the effect of certain secular conditions upon the growth of the church connected with one mission has performed a service which will prove of use to the Christian forces on all geographic frontiers of the church.

KENNETH S. LATOURETTE.

New Haven, 1934.

PREFACE

THE purpose of this study is not to praise or to evaluate the work of Christian missions in Korea. Nor is it to compare the rapid growth of the church in that land with the slower growth in other fields. Neither is it to describe the permanent spiritual realities without which there would be no missionary enterprise. The immediate object is quite restricted. It is to explain an important but little understood phase of the history of the church in Korea, namely, the marked fluctuations in its rate of growth.

The absence of any effort in the following pages to make a case for missions should not be interpreted as indifference or lack of appreciation. I am convinced that the Christian movement in Korea has to its credit achievements which in themselves constitute a convincing argument for the value of missionary work. But the purpose of this study is not argument but understanding.

For the native Christians and the missionaries in Korea I have great respect and affection. Any adverse comments upon them or their methods should be construed as criticisms of a group of which I count it an honor to be a member and of policies for which I acknowledge my share of responsibility.

A. W. W.

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CHURCH GROWTH IN KOREA

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

AMONG all modern mission fields Korea stands foremost for the rapidity with which converts have been won and a strong church established. Within the lifetime of the pioneer Protestant missionaries, a self-governing and largely self-supporting church with a vigorous native leadership has grown up. Writing in 1929, Dr. Charles A. Clark says of the Presbyterian Church in Korea:

" . . . somehow or other we find in that little country of Korea, today, apparently one of the most remarkable churches on any mission field in the world; an independent, national church of 161,000 believers, fully self-governing in every sense of the word, preëminently self-propagating, and almost self-supporting: a church which seems to have solved most of the problems of comity or organic union with its neighbor churches and to have attained a large measure of control over the former mission institutions ("devolution"), yet with the most cordial relations continuing between itself and the missionaries and the boards that helped to found it. It seems to have found a way of utilizing its foreign missionary associates to the full without sacrificing its own autonomy."¹

The Korean Methodist Church is not so large. In 1930 it had 61,691 adherents, a little more than one-third of the number for the Presbyterian Church. But, except for the fact that it is numerically smaller, all that Dr. Clark says of the Presbyterian Church in Korea might with equal propriety be affirmed of the Korean Methodist Church.

And yet the rate of growth which a few years ago made Korea conspicuous in the missionary world is not being maintained; there were about as many names on the rolls of the church in 1910 as there were in 1930. Both the extraordinary success and the arrested development challenge investigation.

¹ *The Korean Church and the Nevius Methods* (New York, 1930), p. 13.

A GOOD LABORATORY

In several respects Korea lends itself readily to the scientific study of missions. In the first place, relatively full and accurate data are available, as the Protestant missionary work dates from as late as 1884. At the same time, the advanced state of development which has been reached affords an opportunity to survey the operation of policies and processes in different stages of the work over a period of years.

Still another favorable circumstance for scientific study lies in the fact that, in contrast to the situation in China or India, the work in Korea is carried on under simplified conditions. The people of Korea are homogeneous in race, language, history, customs, and even in social attitudes in general. This homogeneity is due in part to the geographical situation of the country. A large peninsula, Korea has experienced throughout a long history the isolation which that geographical feature tends to produce.

The major part of the missionary work in Korea has been carried on by Presbyterians and Methodists. The former have operated through four separate missions, but have united in the development of one Presbyterian Church for Korea. The latter have worked through two missions, establishing two separate annual conferences organically related to their respective churches in America. The Korea Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church was formally organized in 1908; the Korea Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was set up in 1918. In 1930 these two conferences were united to form one autonomous Korean Methodist Church. In 1905 the missionaries of the Presbyterian and Methodist churches organized the General Evangelical Council for coöperation in mission work. Six years later this body was transformed into the Federal Council of Protestant Missions in Korea. Through these Councils there has been brought about a very close correlation of the work of the six missions and the two churches.

The early division of the territory between the various

missions makes it easy to subdivide the field and study separately the work of each mission.

DELIMITATION OF FIELD OF INVESTIGATION

This study is limited primarily to that part of the work in Korea which has been carried on under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, more commonly referred to as the Southern Methodist Church. However, in testing apparent correlations between the growth of the church and the prevailing social and political conditions, use is frequently made of the experience in other parts of the field.

Korea has an area of 85,228 square miles, and a population of approximately 20,000,000 people, of whom about 97.5 per cent are Koreans and 2.2 per cent are Japanese. The remainder is made up of foreigners, of which number Chinese form about nine-tenths. By inter-mission agreement the Southern Methodist Church is working in the central part of Korea, in a compact territory which has an area of about 11,000 square miles and a population of about 1,700,000. The Southern Methodist work is in five mission stations. Two of these, Seoul and Wonsan, are occupied jointly with other mission bodies, while in the other stations, Songdo, Choonchun, and Chulwon, and in all the country districts no other church is carrying on work.

The central location of its territory seems a symbol of the intimate relation this church has borne to the major events in the missionary history of the country. It was a charter member of the Federal Council of Evangelical Missions, and has had a part in all the union enterprises undertaken by that organization. It has coöperated in the work of the leading missionary institutions of the capital. The chief defendant in the famous Conspiracy Case, the leader of the Korean revival, the initiator of the Million Movement were all members of this church. The methods used by this mission have been in the main those common to all the missions in Korea. All these things have combined to make of this

church a barometer fairly sensitive to the factors which affect Christian work in Korea. It may, therefore, be safely assumed that a study of this one mission will contribute to an understanding of the missionary situation in the country as a whole.

MEASURE OF THE GROWTH OF THE CHURCH

Church membership in Korea is normally attained by three stages. First the candidate is enrolled as a seeker or inquirer. If he continues to attend church and gives evidence of a genuine desire to live according to the Christian way, he is promoted to the rank of probationer. After a few months he is examined again, and if he meets the requirements he is baptized and received into full membership. The conditions for admission to probation and to church membership have remained fairly constant throughout the history of the church. And fortunately the statistics have been preserved for each year.¹ By adding the probationers and members (sometimes called catechumens and communicants) a figure may be obtained which is a dependable index of the numerical growth of the church from year to year. The number of adult baptisms each year affords an equally reliable measure of the rate of growth.

PERIODS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH

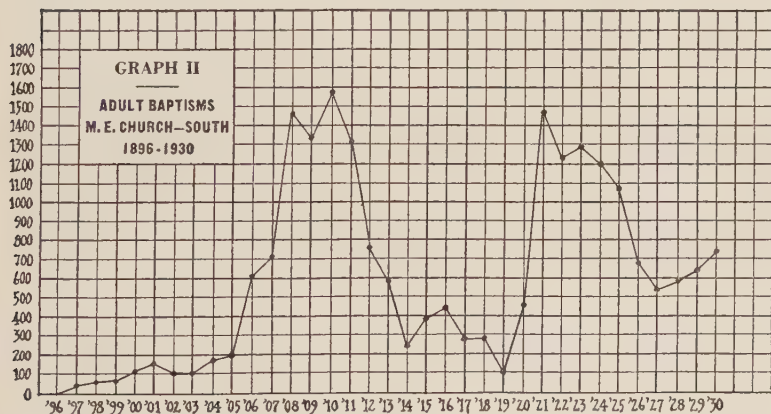
From these statistics it may be seen that from the point of view of rate of growth the history of the Methodist Church in Korea falls into six distinct periods. (See graphs Nos. 1 and 2.) The periods and their dates might be designated as follows:

- I. Planting the Mission, 1896-1905
- II. Five Years of Rapid Growth, 1906-1910
- III. Nine Lean Years, 1911-1919
- IV. Second Period of Rapid Growth, 1920-1924
- V. Second Period of Arrested Growth, 1925-1928
- VI. An Upward Trend, 1929-

¹ See Appendix I.

As may be seen on the graph, since 1905 the tide has been at the flood twice, and twice it has ebbed.

The Southern Methodist Church has not been alone in this



periodic growth. It is highly significant that the other churches in Korea have experienced practically identical though somewhat less accentuated periods of accelerated and retarded growth.

For the purpose of this investigation, each period may be considered the equivalent of a new experiment in the laboratory of missions. If Korea is regarded as the test-tube of this experiment, then it may be said that six times some of the ingredients have been changed in such a way as to make a marked change in the process. Six times the factors in the growth of the church have been transformed or rearranged in such a way as to produce a marked change in the rate of growth.

THE PROBLEM

This striking division of the history of the church in Korea into alternating periods of growth and arrested development calls for explanation and constitutes the problem under consideration. Stated in general terms, the problem is to discover what factors have facilitated and what factors have retarded the growth of the church. But the matter is not so simple as this general statement may seem to imply. The factors do not divide into permanent groups, one group always pulling forward and the other always checking growth. They exchange sides, and what is a positive influence in one period may become a negative influence in another. For example, a conception of the supernatural which forwards the growth of the church at one time may become a neutral or hindering force under the conditions of a later period. The influence of any given factor depends upon its relation to and interplay with the other factors that happen to be present at the same time.

METHOD

The periods are taken up in order and a survey is made of the missionary and church activities, and also of the contemporary political and social events and conditions which formed the environment in which these activities were carried on. In each period two sets of factors are found at work, those arising from the Christian movement itself and those due to conditions and events that are beyond the control of

the Christians, whether native or missionary. For convenience, these two sets of factors are designated as "missionary" and "environmental" respectively. In actual operation it will be seen that the two mingle and interact in one total process which either helps or hinders growth. On the basis, then, of this twofold survey, an attempt is made to achieve an interpretative description of the various factors and their interrelations which will in some measure account for the fluctuations in the growth of the church.

Then, as a final step, the more important findings which have emerged from the separate study of the various periods are brought together and some general conclusions are formulated which it is believed are of significance for a science of missions.

CHAPTER II

PLANTING THE MISSION

NEARLY a decade before the opening of the Korea Mission of the Southern Methodist Church, a Korean in political exile from his country was baptized a member of that denomination in Shanghai, China. This first Korean member might well be called the Father of the Mission, as it was at his insistence and with his personal and financial aid that the mission was started.

In English he signs his name T. H. Yun. Written Korean style, it is Yun Chi Ho. When addressing him formally there is a large choice of appropriate titles: "Baron" because of his hereditary rank, "Honorable" with reference to the high position he has held in the state, or "Doctor" as the holder of an academic degree. But the firm place he now holds in the esteem and affection of the Korean people rests upon a more stable foundation than all of these honors together.

Though a layman, he has been the mentor of missionaries and native preachers alike throughout the history of the mission. He contributed the first house to be used as a church by the first congregation. For many years he was president of the leading school of the mission, with missionaries serving on the faculty under him. He was a member of the joint commission which in 1930 united the two Methodist bodies in Korea and set up one united autonomous church. He was a member of the first General Conference of the united church, and took part in the installation of the first General Superintendent.

In his boyhood Mr. Yun had been much about the royal palace in Seoul. The King would listen with pleasure to his recital of stories from ancient Korean history. Once in a playful mood His Majesty dubbed him the best laughers and the best sleeper in the court.

While still in his teens Mr. Yun went to Japan to study. He became proficient in the Japanese language, and made

good progress in the English. When General Lucius H. Foote, the first American Minister to Korea, passed through Japan on his way to his post, he met Mr. Yun and persuaded him to go back to Korea as an interpreter. This was in May, 1883.¹

When a political upheaval in Seoul banished Mr. Yun's father and endangered Yun's own life, General Foote in February, 1885, sent his young interpreter to Shanghai on an American man-of-war. Here the acting Consul-General introduced him to Young J. Allen, a prominent missionary of the Southern Methodist Church and president of the Anglo-Chinese College.² Mr. Yun entered the school and two years later was received into the church. At the time of his baptism he wrote out a sort of formal *apologia* for the step he was taking which has been widely quoted.³

From 1888 to 1893 Mr. Yun was a student in America, making a brilliant record at Emory College and at Vanderbilt University. Before leaving America, he deposited with Dr. (later Bishop) W. A. Candler, the President of Emory College, about \$250.00 to be used as the nucleus of a fund for establishing a Christian school in Korea if the church should establish a mission there. Mr. Yun then returned to Shanghai and taught in the Anglo-Chinese College until changes in the situation in Korea during the Chino-Japanese War became favorable to his return to his native land.

He reached Seoul in February, 1895, after an absence of ten years, and soon became a prominent figure in the political life of his country. In 1896 he was appointed Vice-Minister of Education. In the same year he was sent to Russia to attend the coronation of the Czar. He was for a time editor of the *Independent*, a newspaper published in Korean and English in the interest of reform. He became the leader of the people in a struggle for constitutional government, and was their spokesman before the King in a general audience

¹ Horace N. Allen, *Korea: Fact and Fancy* (Seoul, Korea: 1904), p. 163.

² W. A. Candler, *Young J. Allen: The Man Who Seeded China* (Nashville, Tenn.: 1931), p. 162.

³ L. George Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea* (Pyeng Yang, Korea: 1929), pp. 156-157.

granted the people outside the great gate of the palace in 1898. In his many official positions his conduct was always above suspicion. Once in the far north a missionary asked an ordinary Korean if he knew of Hon. T. H. Yun, and the reply was, "Oh yes, he is the honest official."

Few men are more eloquent in speech. At the World's Student Christian Federation in Tokyo in 1907 he made a brilliant address in two languages, speaking first in English and then interpreting into Japanese. He was a delegate to the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910 and was heard with great respect by that great body. It was the writer's good fortune to have Mr. Yun live in his home for a year, and to have been closely associated with him in many relationships for twenty years. Modesty, courtesy, and consideration for others are outstanding and ever present characteristics of this "first member." There will be occasion to refer to him again in these pages, for he is one of the influential factors in the growth of the church which he helped to found.

In response to Mr. Yun's invitation, Rev. C. F. Reid of China and Bishop E. R. Hendrix, who was in charge of the China Mission Conference that year, visited Korea in October 1895. The Bishop was received in audience by the King who requested him to send teachers to Korea. Conditions seemed so favorable that it was decided to open a mission as soon as possible, and a site was purchased at once just off the main thoroughfare of the capital where the Bank of Chosen now stands.

In August of the next year Dr. Reid took up his residence in Korea. His official appointment was "Presiding Elder of the Korea District of the China Mission Conference." At the next meeting of the Board of Missions, May 1897, Korea was constituted a separate mission with Dr. Reid as superintendent.

In January of that year Rev. C. T. Collyer, an Englishman who had served the British and Foreign Bible Society in China for several years and who had married one of the

workers of the Woman's Board of the Southern Methodist Church in China, arrived in Seoul as the second missionary.

Nine months later Mrs. Josephine P. Campbell, who also had been a missionary in China for about ten years, came as the representative of the Woman's Board of Foreign Missions. She was accompanied by Miss Dora Yui (Ling-Tsu Yui) a trained Chinese worker who rendered invaluable service during the early years of the Korea mission. Miss Yui returned to China in 1903.

In May, 1898, Dr. R. A. Hardie, M.D., was appointed to the mission. He and Mrs. Hardie had been in Korea since 1890 doing medical and evangelistic work under the auspices of the Canadian Colleges' Mission. Dr. Hardie is perhaps best known as the leader of the Korean revival which spread over the work of all the missions from 1903 to 1907.

Thus within two years after the founding of the mission there were four missionaries on the field, all of whom had had considerable experience in missionary work before the beginning of the Korea mission.

By the end of the first nine years (1905) a total of nineteen missionaries had been appointed to Korea, ten men and nine women. Of these, one man had returned to America for health reasons; one, a doctor, was disappointed in not finding a well-equipped hospital and left the field after only a few weeks in the country;¹ and one woman had married. This left sixteen on the roll at the end of the period.

All of the missionaries appointed to Korea had received college training, most of them being graduates. Several had received in addition some professional or seminary training.

At least two years of language study are usually necessary before a missionary becomes effective. If two years are subtracted from the time spent on the field by each worker (except in the case of Dr. Hardie who had acquired the language before he joined the mission) and also the time spent on furlough, there are left forty years as the total number of effec-

¹ J. S. Ryang, *Southern Methodism in Korea* (Seoul, Korea: 1930), p. 50.

tive missionary years invested in the work of the mission in the nine years under review.

Within a time, remarkably short when compared with other fields, the Korea mission began to bear fruit in converts. As has been seen, the first missionary moved from China to Korea in August, 1896. In December two Korean Christians, members of the Northern Methodist Church, were employed as colporteurs and evangelists. Soon there were new believers in Ko Yang Eup, a country town about fifteen miles from the capital. On May 2, 1897, twenty-four adults and three children were baptized at this place, and a church was organized. Mr. Yun presented this first congregation with a house and lot. On June 21, the first public service was held in Seoul, Mr. Yun preaching the sermon. By the first annual meeting of the mission which was held in Seoul, December 8, there were forty-eight full members and 108 probationers; the work had been organized into two circuits, the Seoul Circuit and the Songdo Circuit. Thus is found the unusual situation of converts won and churches organized before the pioneer missionary has had time to learn to preach in the language of the people! By the ninth annual meeting there were 1208 members and probationers enrolled in forty-six local groups. The extent to which this rapid growth was the result of missionary effort is the next subject of consideration.

MISSIONARY FACTORS

The direction and speed of an ocean vessel are determined for the most part by the nature of the ship and the actions of the captain and crew. But at times the course is also affected by currents and storms over which the captain and crew have no control. Likewise the course of the missionary enterprise is determined by two sets of factors. One set is found within the enterprise itself in its aims, its organization and activities and the way in which these are carried on. Another set is found in contemporary conditions, events, and movements which, though beyond its control, favor or retard its growth.

Let us notice some factors within the enterprise itself which contributed to its growth during the first nine years of the mission. Some of these factors, as will be seen later, continue to function practically unchanged through succeeding periods as well. Others change radically.

Common Ground

The acceptance of Christianity was made easier by the wide area of agreement between the ideas and ideals of the missionaries and those current among the Korean people.

There was, for example, a naïveté about the beliefs of the missionaries that brought them in some respects quite near to the thought world of the Korean, a world that in many aspects was similar to that of the New Testament times. One missionary writes, "We have been as conscious of the presence of evil spirits as the Koreans are, but we have the advantage over them of knowing the real source of help."¹

In his own literature, both history and fiction, the Korean was accustomed to meeting with miraculous events. He read in his history, for example, that in the year 22 A.D. when the king in battle found himself in dire straits surrounded by a great force of the enemy, he prayed to God, and God sent a great mist that completely enveloped both armies and so enabled the king to escape.² The ceremonies of the Korean's religion were for the most part efforts to secure blessings through the miraculous intervention of supernatural beings. So the presence of the miraculous element in the Bible caused neither difficulty nor surprise. Ideas that brought the pioneer missionary and the people close together in this period, where retained today, have become a barrier between the Christian worker and the children of the early converts. So great has been the change in the thought world of the Korean in a generation!

There was also much common ground between the conduct required by the new religion and that approved by the con-

¹ *Minutes of the Korea Mission, M. E. Church, South*, 1901, p. 26.

² *The Korea Mission Field*, March, 1916, p. 67.

science of the Korean people. Except in the matter of religious practices and ceremonies, the conduct required by the church was already socially approved conduct. The stand taken by the church against dishonesty, gambling, licentiousness, drunkenness, etc., was stronger than public opinion demanded, but it did not violate the ideals of the people. This was true even of the church's attitude toward polygamy. The monogamous relation insisted upon by the church was not contrary to Korean ideals. Polygamy was not condemned by public opinion, but men did not practise polygamy for conscience' sake. The kind of personal living insisted upon by the church, while it differed widely from the common practice of the people, was the kind approved by the most respected public opinion, and the kind most parents desired for their children.

And the missionaries placed great emphasis upon right conduct. Christianity was never presented merely as a system of beliefs to be accepted. It was a way of life to be followed. A common expression in Korean for being a Christian was *toreul baingbanan saram*, literally "one who does the doctrine." A frequently quoted text and one in the list of texts which every missionary was required to memorize while studying the language was, "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father who is in heaven."¹ The reports of the missionaries indicate that constant vigilance was needed and was exercised to maintain a high standard of morality in the church membership.

Referring to the Wonsan Church in his report for 1902, Dr. Hardie, the missionary in charge, says:

"We have had occasion more than once to rebuke communicants, as well as probationers, for laxity in Sabbath observance. One member has been expelled for speculation and licentiousness, and another indefinitely suspended for immorality."²

¹ Matt. 7: 21.

² *Minutes Korea Mission*, 1902, p. 30.

In the same year Miss Arrena Carroll says in her report: "In laboring to convert the women it seems very hard to get them to understand what their profession as Christians should mean and although their lives have been greatly changed, some are prone to break the Sabbath, to drink spirits or sell them, etc., so that our main hope is in the girls, who should be gathered into a Christian school."¹

The missionaries had to be on their guard against the church's becoming merely a refuge from extortion. In 1902 Rev. C. T. Collyer reported:

"The turning to Christianity in this region (the north-western counties of Kang Won province) was not for the sake of salvation, but in the hope that in it might be found a source of protection against extortion practised by the "Pedlar's Guild," which since the overthrow of the Independence Club in 1898, has had to a considerable extent government recognition."²

Cases are reported on the other hand of men who came to church for political protection who became sincere Christians.

"The conversion of Choi Dai Gun has been one of the greatest blessings to the church in the way of getting heathen men to renounce their sins and confess Christ. He being a merchant has worked among the men of his own class. The story of his conversion is an interesting one. Because the Governor of Songdo had unjustly compelled him to pay \$50.00 he came to the church expecting to secure therefrom some influence by which he might compel the Governor to return the money 'squeezed' from him. After he had come to the church for some three months the Holy Spirit convicted him of sin and he began to see the true power of the gospel. During the revival conducted by Dr. Hardie he confessed his sins and from the light and joy that shone in his face it was plain that he had been born again. He said, 'The Governor of Songdo by his injustice caused me to lose \$50.00, but I found Christ. I am willing to make the Governor a

¹ *Ibid.*, 1903, p. 48.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

present of \$50.00 more, for in reality he has done me a great service.'"¹

The moral integrity of the Korean Christians which the missionaries sought to guard with disciplinary regulations was placed upon a firm foundation by the revival movement which began in 1903 and which will be noticed later. The point we wish to emphasize here is that the conduct required by the church was in such harmony with Korean ideals as to win prestige for Christian morality. When a man became a Christian, even the non-Christian public came to look for improvement in his conduct.

There was, as has been noted, significant common ground between the missionaries and the Korean people in ideals of conduct and in primitive religious conceptions. There was also a less well known but in reality more impressive agreement between Christian conceptions and the higher religious thoughts expressed by writers whose works are outstanding in the history of Korean literature.

Korea early fell heir to the culture of China. Buddhism came in from China in 372 A.D. and Confucianism at a still earlier date. Choi Chi Wun, who is called the Father of Korean Literature, went to China for study during the brilliant Tang period. He studied at the capital, Chang-an (now Sian), and graduated with honor in 875 A.D.² Many of his writings have come down to this day. He was followed by a host of distinguished writers scattered throughout the succeeding centuries. To be sure, this literature is in the Chinese character, but it was produced by Koreans and expresses Korean ideas which did not always agree with Chinese opinions. A recent Korean writer claims that while prominent Confucianists in China tended to identify God with impersonal reason, "Korean Confucianists discovered a personal God."³ Many passages occur in Korean literature that seem rephrasings of passages from the Christian scriptures.

¹ *Minutes Korea Mission*, 1904, p. 38.

² J. S. Gale, "Choi Chi Wun," *The Korea Magazine*, January, 1917, p. 13.

³ Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions*, p. 22.

God is represented as one who requires and will reward sincerity and righteousness. In 982 A.D. Choi Seung-No wrote to the King:

"I pray that Your Majesty will do away with all useless sacrifices and prayers, and show instead a righteous life and a repentant spirit, with a soul offered up to God. If this be done, trouble will naturally take its departure and blessings come down upon you."¹

In 1123 A.D. Im Wan wrote to the King:

"God can be approached by sincerity of heart alone and not by any outward form. Sacrifice offers no fragrance to him but a righteous life only."²

Many passages teach that God sees the heart and will punish evil. In 1389 A.D. Cho Choon wrote to the last king who ruled in Songdo:

"My prayer is that Your Majesty will remember that God reads the heart as in a mirror. When you reward anyone think first if he is one whom God would reward; and when you punish, think first if he is one whom God would punish."³

In 1675 Song Si-Yul wrote:

"He who bears tales that separate friends and cause strife is a bad man, and will be rewarded accordingly. I have seen it again and again through long years of experience. God, who sees as in a mirror, will certainly punish."⁴

In the sixteenth century Yi Choon-kyung wrote:

"There is a union of the two spirits, God and man, seen in the meting out of blessing and misfortune. In form, God differs from man, yet, according to the law of the dual principles, which interweaves us as warp and woof, God and man work together. . . . Man, however, being a material creature, with a tangible body, easily concentrates his thoughts upon himself and so misses the thought of God altogether. He foolishly leaves Him out of his reckonings saying, 'What can yon blue heaven have to do with me?' or 'What concern can a crawling creature like man have with God?' So he

¹ Translated by J. S. Gale, *The Korea Mission Field*, March, 1916, p. 68.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁴ *Ibid.*

gives free reign to self-will and yields himself up to loose and lascivious ways; in the end calling down disaster and making God, who ever lives, dispense calamity instead of blessing.”¹

Other writers find it more difficult to construct a theodicy. They are perplexed by the problem of evil and the mysteries of providence. For instance, Choi Chi Wun, the Father of Korean Literature, writes:

“I wonder why God feeds the vultures and owls, why the earth supports the caterpillars of destruction, and why the forces of evil fight and find peace and content, while brave soldiers are broken and defeated.”²

And Yool-gok, revered as the greatest sage of the Yi dynasty, who lived 1536-1584, wrote:

“Who has charge of the thunder and the sharp strokes of lightning, the blinding flashes that accompany them and the roarings that shake the earth? What does it mean? Sometimes they strike men dead and sometimes other creatures. What law holds this in hand? The frost kills the tender leaves while the dew makes all fresh and new again. Can you guess the law by which frosts and dews are given? Rain comes forth from the clouds but again some clouds bear no rain. What causes this? In the days of Sillong (2800 B.C.) rains came at the people’s call, and ceased when their wishes were fulfilled. In the Golden age it was so. Was it because God in his dealings was specially favorable to those people? . . . Is there any law by which we could do away with eclipses altogether and have the stars keep their wonted courses, so that the thunder shall not startle the world, nor frosts blight the hopes of summer; that snows may not afflict us, nor hailstones deal out death and famine; that no wild typhoons may rage; that there may be no floods; that all nature run straight and smooth; and that heaven and earth work in sweet accord for the blessing of mankind? When shall we find such a religion? All you great scholar chiefs, who are so

¹ Translated by J. S. Gale, *The Korea Mission Field*, August, 1926, p. 163.

² Translated by J. S. Gale, *The Korea Magazine*, Jan. 1917, p. 16

deeply learned, I should think some of you would know. Open your hearts now and I will listen."¹

Kang Pil-ho, a famous scholar who lived from 1764 to 1846, wrote concerning prayer to God:

" . . . With the heart fully in control take your place before God, and put away all wandering thoughts. Religion is to be found here and nowhere else, and virtue can be discovered only in the heart. Work hard during the day and at night guard your thoughts with reverence and fear, lest you run counter to God's will and cast away your opportunity. In the middle of the night rise up with reverence and fear, and with a heart emptied of all selfish desire, with hands joined and dress decently arranged, burn your incense. If you do otherwise than I thus indicate can you expect to be blessed of God? My dear children think well over these things. If you truly search with all the heart, God will answer your desires and will honor you in ways you know not. Do not lose heart or grow weary. As I write this, I myself make new resolves. Great God thou art the light!"²

These "saints" of old Korea, as the writers just quoted are appropriately called, and the missionaries both taught that righteous living wins God's favor. Both groups emphasized the social efficacy of upright personal conduct. They believed together that the practice of personal virtues would save the individual and would save the state as well. The government and industry and education were unsatisfactory because the individuals carrying on these activities were not good men. Jesus was presented as a Saviour who would create in men new hearts, and thus enable them to practice the blessing-bringing virtues. At this time the underlying assumption that personal goodness is a panacea for the ills of life was generally taken for granted (though often not acted upon) by Christian and non-Christian alike. Only in a later period, as will be seen, did it come to be seriously questioned. At this time it was common ground.

¹ Translated by J. S. Gale, "A History of the Korean People," *Korea Mission Field*, October 1926, p. 223.

² Translated by J. S. Gale, *Korea Mission Field*, March 1916, p. 70.

A Definite Aim

Another factor in the winning of a Christian constituency was the definiteness of the missionary aim. The missionaries had a clear view of their objective. In later missionary literature there is much discussion of the aims of missions, and widely divergent views are expressed. The aim has become a problem. But we look in vain through the minutes and reports of the Korea Mission during the nine-year period under review for any discussion of the aim. It was not discussed because it was not a problem. The missionaries were of one mind about it. They were in Korea to save the Koreans. And to them salvation had a very clear-cut meaning. It meant peace with God and an upright moral life through faith in Jesus Christ. It included also a title to mansions in the skies.

They not only knew what they were trying to do; they could tell quite definitely what progress they were making. They measured their success by the number of converts who were living according to the Christian standard of morality.

The method for realizing the aim was as clearly defined as the aim itself. That method was the preaching of the gospel, by which is meant the telling of the New Testament story to individuals and to groups. The whole strategy of the mission was based upon the assumption that if the New Testament story were clearly told, hearers would be attracted by it, would accept it, and would act upon it.

For this reason great emphasis was placed upon learning the Korean language. At the third annual meeting (1899) it was decided to outline a course of language study for missionaries, and in the Minutes for 1902 (page 56 ff.) we find a detailed syllabus of a four-year course of study which missionaries were required to follow, and upon which they were examined.

The Christians had constantly in mind two ways by which the strength of their movement could be increased. These

are referred to again and again in the reports. One was more thorough consecration to the work on the part of the missionary and the native worker. The other was an increase in the number of workers, both foreign and native.

Evangelization

Widespread and unceasing evangelization was another influential factor in the spread of Christianity. Effective provision was made for telling the gospel story repeatedly to many people over a wide area.

Part of the standard equipment of every missionary was a "country outfit." This consisted of two wooden boxes of a convenient size to be loaded on a small pack pony, and a folding cot. The boxes were packed with food, cooking utensils, books, tracts, and bedding. With this outfit the missionary would make long journeys to country places, sometimes being away from his home for six weeks at a time.

When traveling in virgin territory the missionary would stop at public inns. When converts had been won he would stop at their homes. As early as 1904 one missionary in reporting a trip could say, "On my last visit of two weeks' travel every night except one was spent in a Christian home."¹

As Christian groups were started here and there in the country, more and more of the missionary's time was given to them. He visited them in their homes, and talked and prayed with them. He kept the church roll, and when visiting a place would have a personal interview with each member. No one was enrolled as a probationer or baptized until after he had been carefully examined by the missionary. Much time was spent in teaching the Bible to the Christians. Thus more and more the itinerating of the missionary changed from an evangelizing journey to one of inspection and teaching.

The women missionaries made occasional journeys into the country districts. Their reports give intimate glimpses of

¹ *Minutes, Korea Mission*, 1904, p. 41.

the conditions under which they labored. In an account of an itinerating trip in 1902, one of them wrote: "When we reached Chikiungtur we barely had a straw roof over us and a wet mud wall around us, for fire had broken out on a very windy day in March and burned down sixty houses, leaving only eleven standing. . . . The Christians, knowing that it would be very difficult for us to come that way soon again, insisted that we should stop with them for a few days. Although that room with hot floor, damp walls, and borrowed doors that did not fit by six inches was not very comfortable for the body, it was the best that the Christians could give us; for they were then clearing away the burnt rubbish and putting up a few house frames. The women with their faces scorched by the fires they fought in vain, and with clothing black with smoke, as some of them had saved only the one suit that they wore, met with us in that little room and the Lord was there also and our hearts were warmed as we talked of spiritual things." ¹

The following year another missionary reported: "On this trip our work was nearly altogether with the unbelievers. The Lord gave us many opportunities for preaching to the women, and we always had attentive listeners. During the day we went out into the different parts of the towns, gave away and sold books, and as we were led we told the message of the Cross to the people whom we met. The women nearly always received us cordially, and we were invited into many homes. At night crowds of women would gather to see the foreign Puin (lady), a sight-see I suppose some had never had. But the Bible-women used the occasions as opportunities for telling them the gospel story, and I have seen them soon forget the stranger that had come into their midst in listening to the story of one who came long ago to save from sin and death. This was some of the seedsowing and we are trusting our Father for the ingathering." ²

The homes of the missionaries with their queer beds and lamps and stoves and organs and other unheard-of appliances

¹ *Minutes, Korea Mission*, 1902, p. 47.

² *Ibid.*, 1903, p. 54.

and customs were objects of great interest to the Korean women. Sight-seers in great numbers visited the missionary houses. This constant invasion of their homes was no small trial. The missionary women sometimes jokingly remarked that they knew how to sympathize with the animals in a zoo who had to endure the constant scrutiny of the curious. However, the visiting was encouraged for the sake of the opportunity it gave for evangelization. In 1901 a missionary reported that an average of sixteen visitors a day had tarried long enough in her home to hear something of the gospel.¹

The wives of the missionaries had a part in this work. For example, Mrs. J. R. Moose of Seoul reports to the annual meeting in 1902: "During the year a number of women have visited me in my home and I try never to let them go away without speaking to them on the subject of personal salvation. We have also held a women's weekly prayer meeting in my home most of the year. Miss Yui has been with us in many of these services, and has greatly aided us by her presence and talk. During the first of the year we studied the parables of our Lord and after that the miracles; a part of the time has also been spent in preparation of the Sunday school lessons."²

A large use was made of Korean colporteurs. These were Christian men employed by the missionaries to travel about the country and sell scripture portions and tracts. Funds were provided by the Bible Societies. The colporteurs worked under the direction of the missionaries, and made regular reports to them. These colporteurs were the advance guard of the Christian movement, and in many cases the first believers in a village were due to their efforts.

The outreach of the missionary influence was multiplied by employing Korean Christian women as Bible-women. These visited from house to house, and told the gospel story, and sold Gospels, and likewise distributed tracts. They made daily reports of their work to the missionary, and accompanied the latter on her visits to the homes of the

¹ *Ibid.*, 1901, p. 32.

² *Ibid.*, 1902, p. 54.

people. Where Christian groups had been started, the Bible-women visited among the women of the congregation, taught them to read, and then taught them the Bible.

In 1901 Mrs. Campbell reported that about 2,632 women had listened to the gospel from the Bible-women in Seoul during the year.¹ In 1902 she reported that a total of eight Bible-women were employed, four in Seoul, three in Songdo, and one in Wonsan.² From her report for the next year we take the following: "The two women working in Cha-Kol have reported visiting and talking with 2,540 women on their soul's salvation. . . . They have met many rebuffs this year, there being something of a rice famine through the land, and the Christian religion being the presumable cause. . . .

"Miss Yui, our little missionary from China, has entertained with gospel teaching 925 women and 211 children."³

In 1904 Mrs. Moose said of her Bible-woman, Mrs. Kim: "She is very enthusiastic over the work in the vicinity of our new chapel and has recently brought in a number of articles which have been used in the worship of evil spirits, the owners of said articles renouncing their former faith and becoming candidates for membership in our church. From September, 1903, to September, 1904, Mrs. Kim reports having talked to 6,912 women on the subject of personal salvation."⁴

No extensive educational or medical work was undertaken in this period. A boarding school for girls was started in each of the three mission stations, a few small day schools for boys were begun, and in 1902 the mission began coöperating with the Northern Methodists in the Pai Chai School for Boys. Some dispensary work was carried on at Wonsan and Songdo. The statistics for 1905 show 74 pupils in the girls' schools, 91 in the boys', and 3,016 dispensary patients.⁵ A vigilant effort was made to reach with the gospel not only the pupils and patients but visitors also. For example, in her report for 1901 Mrs. Campbell says: "The matron in the school has had opportunity to do some good work among the women. Many

¹ *Minutes, Korea Mission*, 1901, p. 21.

² *Ibid.*, 1902, p. 37.

³ *Ibid.*, 1903, p. 42.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1904, p. 54.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1906, p. 4.

coming in to get ideas of a foreign school have sat and listened to God's word from her lips." ¹

Through their own lips as they went up and down the country, through employed native assistants, colporteurs, and Bible-women, through the voluntary preaching of unpaid native workers, and through the sale of books and the distribution of tracts, the missionaries told the same story over and over again. In doing this they were observing as a matter of religious conviction what has been formulated as the first principle or rule of propaganda, namely, "If you have an idea to put over, keep presenting it incessantly. Keep talking (or printing) systematically and persistently." ²

Comradeship with Koreans

The character and personality of the missionaries together with their intimate association with the native workers contributed not a little to the success of the work. There was no case of moral breakdown among the missionaries. Without exception they were persons of college education, refinement, kindness, and common sense. They exhibited tremendous earnestness, devotion, and concentration.

It is sometimes asserted that people of a lower material culture cannot detect any sacrificial element in the life of the missionary, that to the poverty-stricken native, the missionary appears to be leading a life of ease and luxury. The statement is partly true. But in this period in Korea when missionary and native worker tramped together along the narrow paths of Korean roads, often for a month at a time through all kinds of weather, physical hardships were not lacking, and each won the respect and confidence of the other by what he endured for the work's sake. Even the coolie that led the pack pony could see that the missionaries, both men and women, voluntarily endured hardships which the Korean merchants and officials for whom the coolie sometimes worked would have refused to undergo.

¹ *Ibid.*, 1901, p. 20.

² Kimball Young, *Source Book for Social Psychology* (New York, 1928), p. 798.

But much more than by the hardships of the road were the missionaries and native helpers bound together by co-operation in the care of the churches. Day after day and night after night they worked together until minds and bodies were weary, teaching Bible classes, preparing candidates for baptism, investigating lapses of conduct, reconciling discordant factions. Out of the comradeship of these experiences was born a mutual loyalty and confidence that made easier the process of devolution in later years, and a zeal that has made the Korean worker an example for other fields.

Participation of Korean Christians

The enlistment of Korean Christians in whole-hearted participation in the enterprise contributed greatly to its growth.

Korean Christians are famed for the zeal with which they have supported and extended the church. Their zeal was fed by their own vivid religious experience, by the teaching and example of the missionaries, and by the fact that from the beginning, responsibility for supporting the local church and for managing its routine affairs was left upon them. The prominent part taken by the Korean Christians in the enterprise was due in some measure to the deliberate policy adopted by the missionaries, and in some measure to the rapid rise of the church which made it impractical for the mission to carry the whole administrative and financial load.

Once within the Christian Church there were many incentives to make the individual Korean a zealous propagandist for the new faith. His promotion to the rank of a full member depended in part upon his winning others, since one of the usual questions in examining candidates for baptism was, "Have you since you became a Christian led anyone else to the Saviour?" His status in the new group depended upon his zeal. Immunity from persecution in his own family and village often depended upon his winning others to take the same step he had taken. Then there was the drive of his own religious experience. As one Korean Christian has said:

"When a man passes through transforming religious and moral experiences, he naturally desires to share them with others. This spirit is especially characteristic of Christianity, not only because of its claim to universality but because of its ideal of love that urges people to reach others, especially those who are not so fortunate."¹

In line with the policy of other missions working in Korea was the great emphasis placed upon self-support. As early as 1902, we find *Methods of Mission Work* by Nevius in the list of books which first year missionaries were required to read.² As a general rule, no financial assistance was given by the mission in building country churches. All other local expenses also were borne by the Koreans themselves.

The Revival

Because of its influence in the latter part of this period and throughout the later history of the Korean church, the revival deserves special consideration. It began in the Southern Methodist Mission and gradually spread until it became a conspicuous feature of the life of the entire Korean church, and was widely commented on in distant parts of the world.

The leader in the movement was the Reverend R. A. Hardie, M.D., who went to Korea, as has been noted, under the auspices of the Canadian Colleges' Mission in 1890 for medical and evangelistic work, and in 1898 joined the Southern Methodist Mission. He is not at all the type of man frequently found leading emotional revivals. He is a tireless and conscientious worker, not given to exaggeration or excitement. He keeps his own theological opinions in the background. There is a rugged sincerity about his character that wins confidence, but as a public speaker he has only moderate ability. He is reticent about his own religious experience and seldom refers to it. However, in his written reports to the mission concerning the beginning of the

¹ Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions*, p. 286.

² *Minutes, Korea Mission* 1902, p. 56.

revival he gives a rather full account from which we shall have occasion to quote.

In August, 1903, a group of seven missionaries met together in Wonsan for a week of Bible study and prayer. Dr. Hardie, who was stationed at this place, was asked to prepare three papers on the subject of prayer.¹ He had just passed through a trying year which he describes as "one of continuous solicitude for work already organized and especially of self-examination and condemnation on account of the lack of expansion."² Always insisting on a high standard of conduct in church members, he had felt bound to expel several during the year for improper conduct. He was oppressed with a sense of failure. He says: "I had for years been yearning to see Koreans convicted of sin and led to a repentance and faith evidencing the fruits thereof, but up to that time I had not seen in connection with my own work any examples of plain, unmistakable, and lasting conversion. I had seen many led to an intellectual knowledge and acceptance of these things, but I knew of few who gave any adequate evidence of knowing them as an actual and living experience, and these few were for the most part the result of the labors of others."³

It was in this frame of mind that Dr. Hardie went about making preparation for his part in the Bible class. As he studied the Bible, his attention was arrested by Luke XI: 13, ". . . how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?" By "simple faith in God's promise" without any feeling save a new peace in his heart he "claimed the gift of the Holy Spirit." This was to mean a new era of fruitfulness in his labors because of the fact that, as he expressed it in his next report, "Henceforth my efforts will not be slackened but with this difference — as I witness, so also will the Holy Ghost in the consciousness of whose presence I have peace and joy."⁴

He next felt impelled to go before the missionary group and

¹ George T. B. Davis, *Korea for Christ* (London, 1910), p. 63.

² *Minutes, Korea Mission*, 1903, p. 26.

³ *Ibid.*, 1904, pp. 23-24.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1903, p. 26.

later before the Korean congregation, and make acknowledgment of his past failure and the cause of that failure. So the next Sunday morning he stood before the Korean congregation and, to use his own words, "with shame and confusion of face confessed my pride, hardness of heart and lack of faith and also much that these had led to."¹

The Koreans were greatly impressed with the change that had come over Dr. Hardie. Not long afterwards daily meetings for Bible study and prayer were held for the Korean Christians, and soon they, too, were impelled to make confessions. The first was by a young man who arose and "read from a sheet of paper a list of sins, on account of which he said he had for several days been so troubled that he could no longer keep the matter to himself."²

The next confession was made by a man who is now one of the leading preachers in the Korean Methodist Church. His record for the twenty-eight years that have passed since his confession was made is without a stain.

Dr. Hardie had had no previous experience in conducting such a meeting, and was at a loss to know how to proceed. To his joy, just at this time the Rev. F. Franson, Director of the Scandinavian Missionary Alliance, arrived and led the services for a week. After his departure the interest continued under Dr. Hardie's leadership.

Confession of sins continued to be the outstanding feature of the meeting: "Through the whole series of meetings the people followed the lead of those who had first been convicted, and confessed their sins in public. . . . As under the initial convicting power of the Holy Spirit, they had felt constrained to confess their sins in public so they determined henceforth to do whenever they should realize that Satan had gained an advantage over them. . . . Adhere to this rule and stealing, lying, bitterness, wrath, anger, clamor, and evil speaking will soon be put away.

". . . This commendable method of dealing with sin has not been, so far as I have been able to see, abused. Confession

¹ *Ibid.*, 1904, p. 24.

² *Ibid.*

did not grow easy and become commonplace but always appeared to be forced by the rebuke of the Holy Spirit.¹

"... During the progress of the revival in the autumn, several of our people confessed to theft of goods and offered restitution. Where the stealing affected members of the church it was agreed that in order that they might show their entire willingness to forgive freely, the restitution should be made to the Lord instead of to those who had suffered the loss."²

The money thus obtained was used as the nucleus of a fund to support a colporteur employed by the local church.

This first revival has been described in some detail, because within the next few years the pattern set by this Wonsan revival was followed in its main outlines in practically every Christian group in the country.

The first great result of the revival was a transformation in the lives of the members of the church. Like a great cleansing fire it moved through the churches and lifted the morality of its members to a plane of sincerity and purity never attained before. It welded them into the brotherhood of a common religious experience where each could have respect for and confidence in the other, because each felt upon his own heart the constant pressure of an invisible power urging him toward that which was honest and pure. Missionaries and Koreans were fused into one fellowship by this common experience. The zeal of the Christians in supporting and extending the church was increased. The emotional thrill which came in the revival was an added satisfaction which gave new zest to the Christian life.

Another result of the revival was an acceleration of the growth of the church in numbers. During the next three years the number of Christians increased threefold. There is no doubt that the revival had much to do with this increase. The transformation wrought by the revival in the life of the church made it a more zealous and effective agency for winning new converts. Then, too, the revival gave to the

¹ *Minutes Korea Mission* 1904, p. 25.

² *Ibid.*, p. 26.

church the lure of the supernatural and the mysterious. The report that in their meetings the Christians had direct dealings with the mighty forces of the unseen world would be a strong bid for the attention of restless and dissatisfied people.

Assistance from Other Missions and Fields

Protestant missions had been going on in Korea for more than a decade when the Southern Methodists entered the field. They built on foundations that others had laid. They studied the language by the aid of grammar and dictionary that had been laboriously prepared by the pioneers. They found hymn-book, catechism, and portions of the Bible and *Pilgrim's Progress* ready for use in the language of the people. And more important still there was already in existence a considerable body of Christians from whom helpers could be secured. In 1896, the year the mission opened, the Northern Methodists reported 854 members and probationers, and the Presbyterians reported 1,145.¹ Thanks to the generous co-operation of the Northern Methodists, the new mission was supplied with two native workers, one an evangelist and one a colporteur, within four months after Dr. Reid's arrival on the field.²

The new mission drew heavily upon China. Three of the pioneer missionaries had seen service in that field. Experience and knowledge of Chinese ideographs and oriental culture gained in China added to their equipment for starting the mission in Korea. We have already noted the fact that a Chinese associate, Miss Yui, accompanied Mrs. Campbell to Korea, and that the first and leading member of the Korean Church, Mr. Yun, was converted while studying in a mission school in Shanghai. His wife, who became an active worker in the Korean church, was the daughter of a Chinese Bible-woman and herself a graduate of the McTyeire School in Shanghai, a mission school for Chinese girls. Dr. W. R. Lambuth, who visited the Korea field five times between

¹ Daniel L. Gifford, *Every-Day Life in Korea* (New York, 1898), p. 230.

² Ryang, *Southern Methodism in Korea*, p. 18.

1899 and 1921 either as the foreign secretary of the Board of Missions or as Bishop in charge, had seen active mission service in China and Japan and had opened a mission in Africa. Through these and many other channels, missionary experience gained in other fields was made available for Korea.

The seven factors which have been considered, namely, the common ground between missionary and Korean people in ideas and ideals, the definite aim, the widespread evangelization, the comradeship between missionaries and native workers, the hearty participation of Korean Christians, the revival, and the help from other missions, certainly facilitated the winning of converts. But taken alone they do not account for the results achieved. The common ground between two religions may reduce the area of friction and make understanding easier, but it is never in itself a cause of conversion from one to another. The other factors were more positive in their action, but they, too, owed their great effectiveness, as will be seen, to the environmental factors which are described in the next section.

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

At the Beginning of Protestant Missions

The dynasty which came to an end with the annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910 had been ruling over a united people for a hundred years when Columbus discovered America. It began as a reform government which pushed a degenerate dynasty off the throne in 1392, and moved the capital of the country from Songdo to Seoul. From that time Confucianism became practically the state religion. The Buddhist order, which had acquired great wealth and political influence and had grown corrupt under the former dynasty, was now placed under severe restrictions. No Buddhist monk was allowed to enter the new capital.

Throughout the centuries Korea had looked up to China as the source of the world's best culture. Korean kings asked and received investiture from the Chinese emperors. They sent presents to Peking annually. They used the

Chinese calendar and the Chinese system of administration, ceremonials, and civil service examinations. China did not interfere with the internal affairs of the country. The relation between the two was that of a younger and an elder brother as defined in the Confucian system. The culture drift had been from China to Korea and thence to Japan.

Upon the invasion of Korea's territory by the Japanese in 1582 China came to the rescue. After the withdrawal of the Japanese army Korea made a determined effort to maintain a policy of national seclusion. For three centuries she succeeded in remaining a hermit nation.

In the nineteenth century, however, it became increasingly difficult and finally impossible to keep her doors closed to an insistent world. Roman Catholic missionaries slipped across her border at night. Vessels of many nations touched her coasts bearing traders and diplomats eager to get in communication with her government and to open up trade. Korea steadfastly resisted all advances until 1876, when General Kuroda, following the tactics that had been used by Commodore Perry in opening up Japan, anchored off Seoul with two men-of-war¹ and by the exercise of tact and patience aided by the silent pressure resulting from the presence of the war vessels, succeeded in ending Korea's seclusion by a treaty of commerce signed February 26, 1876. The first sentence of the first article of the treaty reads as follows: "Chosen (Korea) being an independent state enjoys the same sovereign rights as does Japan."² In 1882, upon the advice of China, Korea signed a treaty with America. This was soon followed by treaties with other powers.

The Korea brought by these treaties into the stormy currents of the international life of that day, was sadly divided. Some of her leaders were opposed to the new treaties and clung to the ancient policy of isolation. Those in favor of the new treaties were again divided into a pro-Chinese and a pro-Japanese party. Twice the Japanese were driven from

¹ Allen, *Korea: Fact and Fancy*, p. 157.

² Henry Chung, *Korean Treaties* (New York, 1919), p. 205.

their legation and forced to flee the country. Once by the reactionaries in 1882, and once by the pro-Chinese in 1884. In each case the Japanese were back and reinstated within a month. The difficulties and intrigues centering around her foreign relations, particularly those with China, Japan, and Russia, proved an insurmountable obstacle to unity of action by the Korean leaders.

The government was little more than an exploiting machine honeycombed with intrigue. Conditions were the worst they had been in centuries and the time was ripe for reform. In such circumstances in the past, Korea had righted herself, and doubtless she would have done so again if she could have been left to herself. But the conditions of the modern world made isolation impossible. In any major effort at social reconstruction within a nation, conflicts of interests and opinions are sure to arise as they did in Korea. But in the case of Korea, international intrigue complicated the settlement of the domestic issues and arrested the process of reform before it could run its natural course. Korea was opened to foreign intercourse just at the time when her own political house was in the most disreputable condition it had been in for centuries; since then conditions have been most unfavorable for house cleaning.

Three Unsuccessful Efforts at Reform

I. The Tong-Hak Rebellion

In the spring of 1894 a revolt broke out in the southern part of Korea against the official corruption and oppression which had become intolerable. The revolt took its name from a religious sect which had been started by a Korean Confucian scholar and mystic about 1860. The new religion was made up of elements taken from Confucianism, Taoism, and Christianity. It was called *Tong-bak* which means "Eastern Learning," in contrast to *Seb-bak*, or "Western Learning," the name frequently given to Roman Catholicism in Korea. A branch of this new religion played a conspicuous part in the Independence Movement in 1919.

Many stories of the founder are told by his followers; at his birth in 1824: “. . . the sunlight came into his mother's bosom, soft perfumes filled the air, and the Kumi Hills that looked on, murmured their expressions of wonder.”¹

Among the marvels told of his life we find: “Once he rode fifty *li* through a howling tempest, the sunlight playing on him all the while and protecting him from every drop of rain, while around, the world was deluged. . . .

“His eyes flashed unearthly fires, so that evil men dropped on their knees before him and confessed their faults.”²

When he was thirty-six years of age he fell into a trance and heard God speaking to him: “Fear not, . . . the people of the world know me as Sangje. I am he. For myriads of years I have found no way to save the lost till now I send you forth to teach the law. Receive the charm I give you; cure sickness; take my formula and tell men how to serve me.”³

Four characters written on a charm that is much used are, *Soo Sim Chung Keui*, “Make right the heart, put straight the soul.” The following sentences are found in their scriptures:

“There is a spirit in man possessing him which is God.”

“Since God dwells within you, think of Him as near at hand and not far away.”

“In order to hold to this realization, . . . repeat this formula at all times and in all places: *Si-chun-joo, cho-wba-jung, yung-se-pool-mang man-sa-ji* (Wait thou on God, Master of Creation, Forget Him not, all things are done through Him).”⁴

Sunday is observed as a day of worship when prayer is offered to God and the teachers, and then instruction is given. At nine o'clock at night the Tong-haks say their prayers and offer a glass of water as a symbolic sacrifice.⁵

The suffering and discontent of the people made a soil in which the new religion grew rapidly, but in a few years it

¹ *The Korea Magazine*, April, 1918, p. 161.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

⁵ *Ibid.*

met with official opposition. The founder was beheaded and the religion outlawed. However it continued to spread. In 1893 its followers presented a petition to the King for the vindication of their founder and the removal of the ban upon the religion and its propaganda. But nothing was accomplished.

Soon afterwards an insurrection was started in one of the southern provinces by an official whose father had been beheaded by the governor. The oppressed Tong-haks joined him and the movement took on alarming proportions.

The revolt was not against the King, but against the corrupt officials who, they thought, were not carrying out the will of the King. The revolutionists' attitude toward the King, and the nature of their grievances are made clear in the appeal which they addressed to the country, an appeal which was in part as follows:

"The five relations of man in this world are sacred. When king and courtiers are harmonious, father and son loving, blessings follow and the kingdom will be established forever. Our sovereign is a dutiful son, a wise, just and benevolent ruler, but this cannot be said of his courtiers. . . . They close the ears and eyes of the King so that he neither hears the appeals of the people nor sees their true condition. When an attempt is made to get the truth to the King, the act is branded traitorous and the man a malefactor. Incompetency marks the men in Seoul, and ability to extort money, those in the country. Great discontent prevails among the people, prosperity is insecure, and life itself is becoming a burden and undesirable. . . . Our country's condition now is worse than it ever has been before. . . . Civil service examinations, once the glory of our people, have become a place of barter."¹

The conditions set forth in this appeal were only too true. But the King's advisers, belonging as they did to the exploiting class, naturally looked upon this uprising of their victims, not as an effort to secure needed reforms, but as a rebellion.

¹ Robert E. Speer, *Missions and Modern History* (New York, 1904), p. 369.

Government troops were sent to put down the uprising. They failed. Then the King appealed to China for help.

China replied by dispatching an army to Korea. She notified Japan that she was sending troops to Korea "to restore the peace of our tributary state." In response to China's action and to her assertion of suzerainty over Korea, Japan sent a splendidly equipped and disciplined army into Korea and defeated the Chinese in a battle at Pyongyang, September 15th and 16th. By October 1st Japan had cleared Korea of all Chinese. The war was ended by the treaty of Shimonoseki which was signed in April, 1895.

While the war was going on between Japan and China the Tong-hak movement continued to spread, and both the Tong-haks and the government troops sent against them were guilty of excesses which augmented the sufferings of the people. The movement was finally put down — driven underground would be more accurate — by the aid of Japanese troops. A brief renewal of activities the following summer was promptly checked.

And so one fumbling effort to secure needed reforms came to an end. As the occasion of the Japan-China war it had far-reaching consequences, but it failed entirely in its immediate purpose. Instead of relieving, it increased the discontent and misery of the people, and hastened the process of social disintegration out of which it had sprung.

II. Japanese Advice and Coercion

The Japanese lost no time in urging reforms upon Korea. Before the treaty of peace was signed, by dint of persistent pressure, they prevailed upon the King to proceed in state to the Altar of Heaven and there on January 8, 1895, publicly renounce the suzerainty of China and swear before the spirits of his ancestors to undertake a long list of reforms. This list included the separation of the government from the affairs of the palace and reduction in the expenses of the latter, the collection of taxes according to definite law, a clear definition of the duties and powers of the Cabinet and ministers, and

the administration of civil and criminal law in a way to ensure security of life and property for all alike.¹

This program of reform and reconstruction, sponsored by the Japanese and formally accepted in this solemn manner by the King, was timely and far-reaching. If faithfully carried out, it would have remedied the chief political ills from which Korea was suffering. But this was not done. Before the end of the year the Japanese who had sponsored the reforms had reached an impasse and had discontinued all efforts, at least for the time being, at directing Korea along the path of progress.

Let us look at some of the causes of this failure. The program conflicted with selfish interests of the King and members of the royal family and the large class of officials who profited by abuses in the administration. The official class centered around the palace. Promotion was dependent upon the favor of some one who had the ear of the King. Under such conditions bribery and intrigue naturally flourished.

The fact that the program was being imposed from without and by the Japanese was another difficulty. The King's oath of reform was, as everybody knew, taken under duress. Many patriotic Koreans desired to see accomplished the very things outlined in the program approved by the Japanese. Some tried to coöperate. But there is always a psychological difficulty in understanding and giving whole-hearted allegiance to plans that are imposed from without. The difficulty becomes almost insurmountable when the motives of the group which imposes the program are under suspicion. The centuries-old antipathy which the Koreans held toward the Japanese was a factor to be reckoned with, and it was intensified by the disreputable conduct of the adventurers and fortune seekers who had followed the army into Korea for the purpose of fishing in troubled waters.²

Then there was undue haste in enacting the program of reform, and violent and unnecessary interference with

¹ Isabella Bird Bishop, *Korea and her Neighbors* (New York, 1898), p. 250.

² Letter of Count Inouye quoted by Joseph H. Longford, *The Story of Korea* (New York, 1911), p. 337.

Korean customs which gave needless offence to the sentiments of the people. For example, according to Korean custom a boy wore his hair in a plait down his back until engaged to be married. After that it was worn in a top-knot on his head. Only Buddhist monks, a despised class, wore the hair closely cropped. It is not strange that the command to cut the hair Japanese fashion, and the stationing of policemen at the city gates to enforce the order, provoked opposition and riots.

But the crowning blunder of all — not to use a harsher term — was the murder of the Korean queen which took place October 8, 1895. The Queen, a woman of great ability and influence, belonged to the faction that had favored China rather than Japan. A new Japanese minister, Viscount Miura, acting on the policy that her removal was demanded by the interests of Japan, formed a plot in concert with the former Regent for her murder. This was accomplished during a night attack on the palace by Japanese and Japanese-drilled Korean troops. The King was held a virtual prisoner in the palace and a new cabinet of ministers was appointed.

Later developments revealed that Miura had acted in this disgraceful affair without the knowledge or sanction of his home government, but even so it was a staggering blow to Japanese prestige. On February 11, the King escaped from the palace and took refuge in the Russian legation. A new cabinet was appointed. Three members of the old cabinet were set upon and killed by the people. The ascendancy of Japan was at an end for the time being, and another effort to bring about reform had failed.

III. The Leadership of Progressive Koreans

The events following the murder of the Queen forced Japan to withdraw from the role of director in the modernization of Korea. This made room for a new leadership which promptly arose. In the spring of 1896 a group of forward-looking Korean intellectuals, several of whom were young men who had studied abroad, organized the Independence Club. Politically their object was two-fold: the complete

independence of Korea, and a modern progressive government in the form of a constitutional monarchy. The first meant opposition to all foreign interference in Korean affairs, and was aimed particularly at Russia and Japan. The second meant, of course, the curtailment of the privileges of the King and the exploiting officials.

The first foreign style newspaper published in the country was started by one of their number on April 7, 1896. It was styled *The Independent* and became the organ of the party. At first the King gave the club his favor. He approved the independence part of their program, and seems to have overlooked the implications of the movement for a constitutional monarchy. In October, 1897, the King was crowned Emperor. In nominal rank he was now on a par with the Emperors of Japan and China.

Soon, however, the Independence Club began to meet with opposition. The King and influential officials grew tired of agitation for reforms that meant a curtailment of their privileges. Early in 1898 the postal department refused to carry *The Independent* in the mails. In the fall of that year the club organized a "People's Assembly"¹ which formulated and presented to the cabinet for imperial approval six measures designed to prevent the misuse of public funds and to safeguard the liberties of the people.

This attack on the citadel of privilege was naturally distasteful to the King and court but, not daring to risk a popular uprising, His Majesty promised to carry out the requests of the people. Using the respite gained by this outward compliance, the conservatives gathered together bands of mercenaries that could be used to break up assemblies of the people. After several clashes between these bands and the populace, the King granted a general audience outside the great gate of the palace. A great company assembled. "It was a little Runnymede, but with a different ending."² Mr. T. H. Yun,³ an outstanding Christian, was the spokes-

¹ Allen, *Korea: Fact and Fancy*, p. 206.

² Homer B. Hulbert, *The Passing of Korea* (New York, 1906), p. 165.

³ *Supra*, p. 10.

man of the independents. In manly but temperate terms he denounced the armed attacks upon a people who meant no violence, and urged that the six measures so definitely promised by His Majesty be carried out. Again the Emperor promised to put into effect the suggestions of the people, but again the promise was not fulfilled.

Not long afterward the leaders of the Independents were thrown into prison on various trumped-up charges, the party was broken up, and a notable attempt of Koreans to guide their country toward genuine independence, honest administration, and the worthwhile institutions of the modern world was brought to an end.

Chief among the obstacles which wrecked the hopes of the reformers were the opposition of the King and his favorites, the credulity, ignorance, and servility of the people, and the foreign relations of the nation.

The Independents were never free to concentrate upon the solution of the domestic problems, complicated as these were. The foreign relations were like treacherous currents forever flowing across the channel through which they were trying to guide the ship of state.

The foreign legations were often a sort of base of operations and a place of refuge for the King and other more vicious parasites. The newly built palace to which the King moved when he left the Russian legation in February, 1897, was practically surrounded by the legations, and there were passages leading direct from the palace to them. In one minute the King could pass, if it became necessary, from his palace to the protection of a foreign legation. This was a device that might be used to escape from uncomfortable pressure, whether it came from Korean patriots who wanted a constitutional monarchy or from a foreign nation that became too insistent in its demands.

Russo-Japanese War

The last great political event of this period was the war between Japan and Russia. After the murder of the Korean

Queen in 1895, the King took refuge in the Russian legation and lived there for over a year. This situation gave Russia a position of advantage. She secured a valuable timber concession along the Yalu, introduced Russian advisers into various governmental positions, and attempted to obtain control of Korean finances. However, Russia's policy and attitude became even more objectionable to Korea than that of Japan, and her popularity was soon on the wane.

The two rivals kept watchful eyes on each other's moves. Russia's interests were mainly political and strategic. Her great desire was to obtain an ice-free port in the waters of Korea. Japan's interests were economic as well as political and strategic. She valued Korea as a source of food and raw materials and a market for Japanese manufactures. Her trade developed rapidly and she invested large sums in Korean railways and other utilities. Finally the rivalry resulted in the war of 1904-1905.

Hostilities began February 8, 1904. At once a Japanese force landed at Chemulpo and proceeded to Seoul. On February 23 a protocol was concluded in which the Japanese government guaranteed the safety of the imperial house and the independence and territorial integrity of Korea. On her part Korea agreed to follow the advice of Japan in regard to improvements in administration. Later in the year Korea agreed to employ a financial adviser and a diplomatic adviser recommended by Japan. After a series of brilliant Japanese victories, the war was brought to a close in August, 1905, by the Treaty of Portsmouth which recognized the "paramount political, military, and economic interests" of Japan in Korea. For the greater part of the non-white world this victory of Japan over a great nation of the dominant West awakened hopes of a greater freedom. But such was not the case with Korea. In the years of rivalry leading up to the war and during the war itself her position was difficult and humiliating. The final outcome, though preferable to a Russian victory, contained no balm for the spirits of a proud and sensitive people.

A Culture Drift from the West

Among the forces which pushed open the doors of the Hermit Kingdom, one of the strongest was the desire for trade. Through these opened doors articles made in the West or made in Japan by Western processes entered the country in ever-increasing volume.

Signs of Westernization soon began to appear. Concessions were given to foreign firms to work mines, build railways, install telegraph lines, etc. In 1897 the Standard Oil Company built storage warehouses on an island off Chemulpo. The next year for the first time in history the streets of the capital were lighted, kerosene lamps being used. The first railway, opened to traffic in 1899, was built by an American firm to connect the capital and Chemulpo. That same year American-made street cars appeared on the streets of Seoul, and in 1901 the ancient capital was lighted by electricity from an American-built powerhouse.

The court and government recognized Western culture in ways that tended to create a receptive attitude toward it. For example, as early as 1884 an electric light plant was ordered for the palace from the Edison Company. The first missionary was employed as court physician. A royal palace was built and furnished in Western style during this period. An imperial band was equipped with Western instruments and led by a German bandmaster. Efforts were made to organize on Western lines various departments of the government, such as the army, education, postoffice, law, customs, fisheries, etc., and from time to time western experts and advisers were employed.

In the first treaty made with a Western power, that with America in 1882, there is an interesting recognition of the superiority of American judicial procedure. The treaty grants to American subjects the privilege of extraterritoriality, and then goes on to say in the last paragraph of Article IV:

"It is, however, mutually agreed and understood between the High Contracting Powers that whenever the King of

Chosen shall have so far modified and reformed the statutes and judicial procedure of his kingdom that, in the judgment of the United States, they conform to the laws and course of justice in the United States, the right of extritorial jurisdiction over United States citizens in Chosen shall be abandoned, and thereafter United States citizens, when within the limits of the Kingdom of Chosen, shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the native authorities.”¹

It should not be thought, however, that the influx of Western civilization met with no opposition. Many examples might be given of strenuous resistance. Mobs of angry people attacked the first street cars in the capital. The Minister of Education at one time issued a book entitled *The Warp and Woof of Confucianism* which was so abusive of the West that it called forth a protest from the foreign representatives.² But the missionary did not have to meet this opposition alone.

The new articles of everyday use, new tools, new machines, new ways of treating disease, new ideas, and reports of radically different institutions and customs in other parts of the world stimulated thought and curiosity, and awakened the desire to experiment. By 1905 the annual imports had increased to *yen* 31,959,582.³ These imports were emissaries and signs of change.

Significance for Missions

When Protestant missions began in Korea the people were restless and discontented. They attributed their troubles to abuses which had crept into the administration of the government. Here they located the main source of the injustice and poverty and other ills from which they were suffering. The officials and the court were bewildered by a multiplicity of contacts with an unfamiliar and complex international life.

¹ Chung, *The Oriental Policy of the United States* (New York, 1919), pp. 233-234.

² Allen, *Korea; Fact and Fancy*, p. 198.

³ *Annual Report for 1907 on Reforms and Progress in Korea*. Compiled by H. I. J. M.'s Residency General, p. 132.

The people were at first afraid of Christianity. Protestantism was not clearly distinguished from Catholicism, and the latter was known to be dangerous. The memory of the massacre of 1866 when foreign priests and native converts had been done to death was still fresh in their minds. The new treaties did not grant the right to carry on missionary work. As late as 1888 the American Minister, at the demand of the Korean government, requested the American missionaries to "refrain from teaching the Christian religion and administering its rites and ordinances to the Korean people."¹ Ugly rumors were circulated about the missionaries; it was asserted that they kidnapped little children and used their eyes for making medicine.

However, the fears grew less and the rumors died out as the missionaries came in closer contact with the people. The miseries of the present were loosening the grip of the old ways upon individuals here and there. Some were even daring to try the new religion from the West. But for the most part, the people hoped for reform according to the old patterns by a purification of the old ways through the elimination of modern abuses that had crept in.

Politically the Tong-hak rebellion was an effort to do this. It contemplated no new political organization, but merely the purification of the existing system. It did, however, introduce some new religious ideas and new techniques for securing the help of the mysterious unseen world. The Tong-hak movement may be said to have created an atmosphere favorable to missionary propaganda, by increasing the discontent of the people and thus reducing their resistance to change, by directing attention to the possible existence of hitherto untried methods for winning the coöperation of the great unseen world of mystery, and by familiarizing them with some of the concepts of Christianity.

The defeat of China by Japan produced a deeper and more wide-spread influence upon the public mind. Prejudice against Japan prevented the defeat from being explained in

¹ Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions*, p. 146.

terms of any inherent superiority of the Japanese. It must be due to what Japan had learned from the West. The prestige of Western culture rose and that of China fell. This fact unconsciously affected the hold of the old religions upon the minds of the people, because the religions of China were the religions of Korea. The gods of China were the gods of Korea, and China had been defeated.

The effort at reform under Japanese coercion, ending as has been seen in the murder of the queen, increased the bitterness and humiliation in the hearts of the people without solving any of their problems. It also raised the question, "Why not get this new civilization directly from the West through the Western missionaries instead of taking it secondhand through the Japanese?"

The failure of the effort at reform made by patriotic Korean intellectuals had a still more direct effect upon missions. Some of the reformers were already Christians, and the part they played in the movement tended to win respect for their religion. Others became Christians as a result of their experience at this time, and were later outstanding leaders in the Christian Church. They were attracted by the democratic spirit in the Christian movement. Their experience in the Independence Club showed them the need, as a foundation for permanent political reform, of a citizenry more intelligent, more dependable, and more willing to endure hardships for the cause. And this kind of citizenry was just what the Christian Church, through its schools, its morally cleansing revivals, and its bearing-the-cross doctrine, was developing.

Then there was the reformers' own personal experience in prison. The criminal prison became for many a mission hall and then a theological school, as Dr. Gale has so vividly described: "The old Emperor in the days of his absolute power locked in this pesthouse Yi Seung-man, Yu Song-jun, Kim-in, Yi Sang-jai, Yi Wongung, Kim Chung-sik. He thought these men meant reform along western lines, and they did. Without trial by judge or jury, they were shut

behind the bars; some of them wore the cangue collar and worked in the chain-gang. Here they suffered from cold, from ill treatment, from the constant fear of execution, though they had the proud blood of a long ancestry in their veins, and a deadly desire for revenge in the heart . . . when all unexpectedly, there came into their company the New Testament, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, and some of Moody's tracts in Chinese. Their prison visited regularly by the Reverend and Mrs. A. D. Bunker, became first an inquiry room, then a house of prayer, then a chapel for religious exercises, then a theological hall, and when the course was completed, God let them all out of prison and set them to work. With their high social standing, with their political influence, with their superior training in Chinese, these men have become the first Christian leaders of the capital." ¹

The effect of disturbed conditions in turning men toward the church is often referred to in the reports of the missionaries. For example, in 1904, the first year of the Russo-Japanese War, a missionary from Wonsan writes: "Until midsummer this was a rather disturbed section. We had two visits from a hostile fleet and two approaches by hostile troops overland. My judgment is that this . . . is turning out "to the furtherance of the gospel." . . . On a recent trip with one of the colporteurs, our sales were double, or perhaps treble, what they would have been a year ago. . . . We attribute the change largely to the desire to investigate the gospel in view of the disturbed state of the country." ²

The agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society in his report for 1896 says: "Brigandage is still common; bad government or no government, and consequent insecurity of person and property are still the order of the day. . . . Probably most of the candidates for baptism have anything but commendable motives for joining the church — all that may be freely conceded, and yet one rejoices in the number

¹ J. S. Gale, *Korea in Transition*, pp. 182-183.

² *Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 1905, p. 277.

of candidates for baptism. It is at least a sense of sore need, whether spiritual or earthly, that drives them in, and they are therefore more or less teachable, according to their capacity.”¹

Humiliated by repeated political failures and by the impotence of his country in dealing with other nations, suffering from the greed and incompetence of his own officials, the distraught Korean experienced a sense of helplessness which smoothed the road to the confessions and emotional experiences of the revival. He was conscious too of a loss of status which made the possibility of becoming a “child of God” and a citizen of a heavenly country particularly alluring.

Christianity had entered Korea along with a great caravan of culture traits from the West. The fact that it was going with and not against the traffic made the entrance the easier.

The purpose of the missionary is to bring about changes, those changes in the attitudes and institutions of a people which are necessary to that progressive enrichment of life which is commonly called the coming of the Kingdom of God. Before great changes can take place, the fetters that bind to the *status quo* must be loosened or broken. In Korea this was done by the mighty tides of the world's life which had broken down the walls of Korea's seclusion and were now disintegrating her old ways. These tides flowed through political and commercial as well as through missionary channels. In other fields of the Orient, the pioneer missionaries labored for decades under almost static social conditions. In Korea the missionaries began work with a people set marching by other forces.

¹ *Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 1897, p. 241.

CHAPTER III

FIVE YEARS OF RAPID GROWTH

THE growth of the Southern Methodist Church in Korea during the five year period 1906-1910 was phenomenal. More adults were baptized than in the nine preceding and the next ten years put together. The net increase in the number of members and probationers was 7,601, a sum larger than the total number of Protestant members in Japan in 1882, twenty-three years after the beginning of mission work in that field. Nor were the Southern Methodists alone in this astounding increase; in the other churches in Korea also this was a period of growth unparalleled in their histories. The net gain for all the churches was 79,221 — more than the total number of members in Japan after fifty-one years of Protestant effort. The Korean church's gain was twice the number of Protestants in China in 1889 after eighty-two years of mission work.

There was, however, no corresponding increase in the missionary force in Korea. There were fourteen missionaries of the Southern Methodist Church, seven men and seven women, on the field the first year, and twenty-eight, again an equal number of men and women, the last year of the period. If the furloughs are deducted, as well as two years of language study for each of the new missionaries, there remains a total of sixty effective missionary years, or an average of twelve missionaries a year.

How then can the rapid growth of the church be explained? Both the activities within the enterprise and the political and social conditions of the country must be taken into consideration.

ACTIVITIES WITHIN THE MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE

Revivals

The beginning of the revival in 1903 has already been described. In the present period it reached its most con-

spicuous manifestation in Pyengyang, that great northern center of Presbyterian and Northern Methodist work, in the winter of 1907. The revival in that place was a continuation of the movement which had started in Wonsan. It in turn gave a new impetus to the revival spirit throughout the church and fixed the form which it took.

In August, 1906, Dr. Hardie led the missionaries of Pyengyang in a study of the First Epistle of John. A Presbyterian missionary who was one of the group says: "We went out of those August meetings realizing as never before that nothing but the baptism of God's spirit in mighty power, could fit us and our Korean brethren for the trying days ahead. . . . We felt that the whole church needed a vision of God's holiness to become holy, that embittered souls needed to have their thoughts taken away from the national situation to their own personal relation with the Master. We agreed together at that time to pray for a great blessing upon our Korean brethren, especially at the time of the winter Bible-study classes for men in Pyengyang."¹

The next month Dr. Howard Agnew Johnson visited Korea and told of the revivals in Wales and in India. In January hundreds of men from the outlying territory came into Pyengyang for the annual ten-day Bible class. The mornings were given to Bible study and the evenings to special evangelistic services. At one of the evening services an overwhelming emotional experience came over the congregation which is referred to with awe by those who were present.

"After a short sermon, Mr. Lee took charge of the meeting and called for prayers. So many began praying that Mr. Lee said, 'If you want to pray like that, all pray; and the whole audience began to pray out loud all together. The effect was indescribable. Not confusion, but a vast harmony of sound and spirit, a mingling together of souls moved by an irresistible impulse of prayer. . . .

"Man after man would rise, confess his sins, break down

¹ William Newton Blair, *The Korea Pentecost* (New York, 1908), p. 42.

and weep. . . . Sometimes after a confession the whole audience would break out in audible prayer. . . . And so the meeting went on until two o'clock a.m. with confession and weeping and praying. . . . Every sin a human being can commit was publicly confessed that night. Pale and trembling with emotion, in agony of mind and body, guilty souls, standing in the white light of that judgment, saw themselves as God saw them." ¹

The strongest center of Christian work in Korea had now placed its approval upon the revival in its typical forms and recharged it with a high emotional experience shared by native workers and missionaries from different parts of the country.

The revival spread at once to the schools as well as the churches. The custom of suspending the regular schedule for a few days and giving the time to Bible study and prayer and preaching was begun. A revival in a Pyengyang high school in February, 1907, is thus described by one of the teachers: "About nine-tenths of the students were deeply stirred and born again at this time. A large number became evangelists burning with a zeal for the Cross, carrying revival fires not only to the city and nearby country churches, but also as far as Chemulpo and Kongju. The revival did for the characters of some what two years of training could not have done." ²

One missionary wrote: "Until this year I was more or less bound by that contemptible notion that East is East and West, West and that there can be no real affinity or common meeting ground between them. . . . These revivals have taught me that the Korean is at heart, and in all fundamental things, at one with his brother of the West." ³

Bishop M. C. Harris, who was in charge of the work of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Japan and Korea, in his report to the General Conference at Baltimore in 1908 declared, "The effects following this movement are wholly

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 45-47.

² *Report of Board of Missions, M. E. Church, 1908*, pp. 419-420.

³ *The Korea Mission Field*, August, 1907, p. 118.

good: the church raised to a higher spiritual level, almost entire absence of fanaticism because of previous careful instruction in the Bible . . . greater congregations searching the Word . . . drunkards, gamblers, thieves, adulterers, murderers, self-righteous Confucianists . . . have been made new men in Christ, the old things gone forever.”¹

It became the normal and accepted practise to hold a revival in each church or circuit at least once a year. Obviously it was impossible for the missionaries to lead them in all these places. The greater part of the responsibility was carried by the Korean workers, many of whom developed unusual ability in this line of work.

Bible Classes and Institutes

In old Korea only a minority of the people could read, but all looked with longing upon the ability to read. The ideal road to political preferment and social esteem was the way of the literary scholar. It was a narrow way because few had the leisure and the ability to learn the difficult Chinese ideographs. In the fifteenth century a phonetic alphabet was invented, a splendid democratic tool of knowledge. However it was scorned by the literati, and no large use was made of it until it was taken up by the Christian movement.

Any normal person who speaks the language can in a short time learn to read anything that is written with this alphabet. Illiterate adults, when they became Christians, were required to learn to read before they were admitted into full membership. They met this requirement all the more eagerly because it was in line with their traditional respect for learning. A church membership almost 100 per cent literate has made possible a very large use of the Bible.

Central Bible classes were held each year in the mission stations for the leaders of the churches in the surrounding territory. Such a class would usually continue for ten days. The program of a typical class included Bible, lectures on hygiene, world geography and history, singing, and instruc-

¹ *Journal of the General Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1908, p. 861.

tion in personal work and the duties of church officials — class leaders, stewards, and Sunday school superintendents. The evening services were often given over to revival services. The fact that the Koreans were an agricultural people with leisure at certain seasons of the year made it easier for them to attend these classes.

Besides these general classes at the mission stations, local classes were held in each circuit or large church. In these the usual schedule gave the mornings to study at the church, the afternoons to personal work for unbelievers, and the evenings to revival services.

The need for a more thorough training of native preachers was frequently voiced in this period. The first Korean preacher was licensed in 1904 and served continuously until his superannuation in 1928. In 1906 two more men were licensed. One of these is still in active service. In 1908 two more were licensed and both are still active. These early preachers received their training in the Bible classes and in personal association with the missionary in apprenticeship fashion.

In 1907 the two Methodist bodies organized the Union Biblical Institute for training preachers, and one missionary from each Church was appointed to give part of his time to this work. In 1910 its work was enlarged and the name changed to Union Methodist Theological Seminary.¹

Woman's Bible Schools were started in Songdo and Wonsan which gave instruction for three months or more a year to Bible-women and prospective Bible-women. In addition to the Bible these schools taught reading, writing, Chinese, hygiene, Sunday school methods, and church history.²

Educational and Medical Work

In the year 1905-1906 the Korean people began to take a new interest in Western education. The agent in Korea of the American Bible Society, in reporting conditions in 1906, says:

¹ *Minutes Korea Mission*, 1907, pp. 62-63.

² Ryang, *Southern Methodism in Korea*, p. 143.

"The blow which left her with less than a nominal independence has awakened her from her centuries-old sleep. Her young people have been startled into a sense of their responsibilities. Uninspired by the past and dissatisfied with the present, they are anxious to do what they can to better themselves and retrieve their natural independence, yea even their very existence. In this spirit they are turning to education, and are availing themselves of the institutions that exist, are creating others and maintaining them. The mission schools are being sought after: the educational department of the Y. M. C. A. has all the students it can accommodate. But more wonderful still is the educational movement among the girls and young women. Until a year ago there was not a girls' school in Korea outside the mission institutions, and now there are three in Seoul and one in Fusan, entirely supported by the natives, where good primary work is being done."¹

Describing the situation two years later a Presbyterian missionary writes: "We are in the midst of an educational revolution. Schools spring up in a night, heathen and Christian. . . . The school ideals have changed . . . old Confucian scholars lose their proud seats, giving place to those who know both Chinese and the Western sciences. So strong has been the leadership of the church that many unbelievers have sent their children to church schools."²

Partly in response to this general situation, partly as an aid to evangelization, and partly as the result of an enlarging conception of the scope of missions, the Southern Methodist Mission began to place more emphasis upon education. By 1910 there were 46 primary schools of this mission with 60 teachers and 1,176 pupils; three boarding schools for girls and two high schools for boys with 160 students (120 boys and 40 girls) doing high school work, and 500 in the primary departments.³

The outstanding educational event of the period was the

¹ *Report of American Bible Society*, 1907, p. 174.

² *Board of Missions, Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.*, 1909, p. 270.

³ *Minutes Korea Mission*, 1910, pp. 36-38.

opening in October, 1906, of the school for which Hon. T. H. Yun had made a contribution in 1893 while still a student in America. The school was located in Songdo, the former capital and largest center of work in the Southern Methodist territory. Mr. Yun himself became the first principal. Because of his rank and ability and prominence in public affairs, Mr. Yun's transfer of his activities from political life to missionary education attracted considerable attention.

The school at Mr. Yun's suggestion was called "The Anglo-Korean School." This name did not indicate the type of work the school proposed to carry on. The ambiguity was intentional. The institution was to be free to discover by experiment its field of greatest usefulness. In the purpose of the founder, the main emphasis was to be placed upon practical matters that directly concerned the living conditions of the Korean people. In his first annual report made in June 1907, Mr. Yun says: "Do we have a policy? My answer is that we have none; and that we should have none until we have spent at least one or two years in the work. We must first learn the character and needs of our constituency and our own ability and resources to meet them. We may say this, however, that whatever may be the policy to be formulated hereafter, we must always remember that the industrial training is more useful to a Korean today than mere literary education. To be able to read a play in Shakespeare would be a good thing; but to know how to raise a patch of lusty strawberries would be better, though one may do both. But if our boys have to choose one of the two let him take the strawberries. Shakespeare can wait, but the land, under our present régime, may be seized by the military necessity that knows no laws and laws that have no necessity."¹

The most encouraging feature of the work of the school was the eagerness of the young men to learn, and their willingness to work long and hard. The obvious handicaps were the scarcity of suitable teachers and textbooks, the meager

¹ *Ibid.*, 1907, p. 31.

equipment, and the fact that the parents did not fully share the enthusiasm and faith of their children in the new school, and were naturally reluctant to pay for an education whose value had not as yet been demonstrated. Another handicap, not so obvious at that time, but which has become evident in recent years, lay in the fact that Korea was being sucked into the current of world-wide economic and industrial forces which she could neither escape nor control.

The school soon became an outstanding institution. The majority of its students came from non-Christian homes, but practically all became Christians while in school. In 1910 the student body numbered 329. The first class was graduated that year. From the annual report is quoted the following description of the first commencement:

“On June 10th our first class, consisting of ten promising young men, was graduated from the High School. At sunrise that morning a special consecration service was held for the graduates. . . . Two of the class who had not yet received baptism were baptized and the communion was administered. Each of the graduates gave a clear testimony of his faith in Christ and his determination to live for him. . . . Later in the day the formal exercises were held at North Ward Church. Chung Choon-soo, one of our local preachers, delivered the principal address — an eloquent enforcement of the duty of service. Diplomas were awarded and with mingled joy and solicitude the Anglo-Korean School made her first contribution to the ranks of those who are toiling for the uplift of Korea.”¹

A desire to meet the needs of young women who were not eligible to enter the regular mission schools for girls led to the starting in this period of the Mary Helm School for married women. Early marriage, polygamy, and the previous lack of schools for girls were responsible for the class which this school sought to serve. Its object was to give an opportunity to go to school to uneducated girls whose husbands were in school, to young widows, and to ex-concubines who had with-

¹ Manuscript report by A. W. Wasson.

drawn from that relation upon becoming Christians. The school started with ten students in 1906; four years later the number was thirty-five.

Medical work was carried on at Wonsan and Songdo. The hospital at the latter place acquired quite a reputation for curing victims of the opium habit.

In 1906 the tract of land which had been bought in 1895 by Bishop Hendrix and Dr. Reid was sold to the Bank of Chosen, and the proceeds were used to secure land and erect buildings for the mission in various places. We find the missionaries lamenting the fact that so much of their time is taken up with land deals and building operations.¹

"The Million Movement"

An intensive country-wide effort to win new believers was put forth by all the churches in 1909-1910. Like the revival which began in 1903, this movement also traces its origin to a small group of missionaries meeting together for Bible study and prayer. This time the meeting was in Songdo and the date was July, 1909. Soon after this prayer meeting one of the missionaries in making a round of his churches, fired with the enthusiasm of his new experience, asked the Koreans whether they would work and pray for 50,000 souls in that district during the coming year. He received a hearty response which was reported to the annual mission meeting in September, and that body decided: "That we therefore set ourselves with fixed purpose, through the help of the Holy Spirit, to the accomplishment of far greater things for God's Kingdom during the incoming year, and that in humility and constant prayer our watchword be *200,000 souls for Christ this year*. Heb. X: 35-36."²

In October the General Council of Evangelical Missions met in Seoul and, after hearing of the action of the Southern Methodists, adopted as the watchword for the entire body for the year, "A Million Souls for Christ." Within three

¹ *Minutes Korea Mission*, 1907, p. 15.

² *Ibid.*, 1909, p. 89.

hours after the adoption of this bold watchword, the well-known evangelists, Dr. J. Wilbur Chapman and Mr. Charles M. Alexander, and party arrived in Seoul on an evangelistic tour of the Orient. For five days they conducted enthusiastic meetings for the missionaries and Koreans. The pianist and composer of the party wrote the words and music of a special hymn entitled "A Million Souls for Jesus." This was translated into Korean and used throughout the country. In this way the Million Movement was launched on a high tide of enthusiasm.

A strenuous effort was made to reach every person in the country with the gospel. A half million copies of the Gospel of Mark were printed at once, and Korean members were urged to buy and distribute them. Christians were asked to make a subscription of days to be devoted to personal evangelism. An eye witness describes one of these "day collections" in a country town:

"An appeal was made to the people for days of service during the next three months and a remarkable scene followed. Men and women arose in all parts of the building and made their offerings. A merchant said, 'I am going to do this work continually; but I will devote my entire time to it one week each month'. . . . A travelling merchant said he was going to preach all along the road, but he would contribute six entire days. . . . One of the women delegates said she could only contribute six days, but she was going to preach to everyone she met. The total number of days of service promised was 2,271; or the equivalent of one man preaching Christ constantly for close upon seven and a half years.¹

A writer in the *Korea Mission Field* sums up the efforts put forth for the whole country as follows: "Poor and hard-working Koreans were inspired to give at least 100,000 days of work in all. . . . Many millions of tracts and 700,000 copies of the Gospel of Mark were purchased by native Christians and given to unbelievers with prayer and earnest

¹ Davis, *Korea for Christ*, pp. 10-11.

persuasion; daily prayer has been offered for this by thousands of Koreans.”¹

What were the results of this tremendous effort to win new believers? Statistically, the outcome was cruelly disappointing as the following table for the period will show.

PERCENTAGE GAIN IN MEMBERS AND PROBATIONERS

<i>Year</i>	<i>Southern Methodist</i>	<i>All Churches</i>
1906.....	142%	48%
1907.....	71	57
1908.....	22	19
1909.....	26	17
1910.....	28	17

The net increase in members and probationers was 2,122 for the Southern Methodist and 15,805 for all the churches in the General Council. These numbers look discouragingly small by the side of the hoped-for 200,000 and 1,000,000. In the local congregations there was kept a third list of names made of “new believers” or “seekers” not yet enrolled as probationers. No complete statistics for this class are available. If these could be secured and added to the above figures, the showing would be a little better. However, in so far as the number of “seekers” represented a real gain and not merely names on paper, this fact would appear in the increase in members and probationers for the succeeding year. But the statistics for 1911 show a net loss for the Southern Methodist Church and only an eight per cent gain for the whole country.

Why did the Million Movement fall so far short of its goal? Why did it fail to produce any acceleration in the growth of the church over that of the preceding years?

At the time, many agreed with the statement of Dr. Baird of Pyengyang who declared in 1911: “Personally, I believe that when all is known, more than a million souls will be found to date their interest in the Kingdom from this Million year.”² But the lean years which followed give no support to that assumption.

¹ *Korea Mission Field*, January, 1911, p. 5.

² *Ibid.*, November, 1911, p. 210.

Most of the workers probably accepted the watchword not as a definite numerical goal but as a slogan, a way of saying emphatically, "We will attempt greater things this year." Many, however, accepted it as a definite goal. Some insisted that the workers must believe absolutely without any tinge of doubt that God was going to answer literally the prayer for a million new believers within the year. Such persons would logically attribute the failure to a lack of faith. Some have criticized the way in which the Movement was carried on, calling it a "worked-up campaign with too little antecedent preparation."¹

The failure of the strenuous efforts of the Million Movement to accelerate the growth of the church was due fundamentally to causes that lay outside the missionary enterprise. The Million Movement had the misfortune to encounter the advance guard of the forces that stopped all numerical growth for the next nine years. These forces arose from conditions which will be described in the next chapter. Attention will now be given to the environmental factors which gave to the missionary activities of the five years under review such extraordinary fruitfulness.

CONTEMPORANEOUS EVENTS AND CONDITIONS

Loss of Independence

Korea was passing, during this period, by three forced stages from nominal independence to complete loss of sovereignty. By the agreement of November 17, 1905, Japan assumed charge of the foreign relations of Korea and also tightened her hold upon the internal administration. Hereafter the foreign relations were to be conducted by the Department of Foreign Affairs in Tokyo. In Korea the Japanese Government was to be represented by a Japanese Resident-General who was to have the right of private and personal audience with the Emperor of Korea, and advisory control over the administration.

Foreseeing this contingency, the Korean Emperor had

¹ Clark, *The Korean Church and the Nevius Methods*, p. 155.

attempted to forestall it by sending in October a personal representative to President Roosevelt with an appeal that he use his good offices on behalf of Korea in accordance with the first article of the treaty of 1882 between Korea and the United States which reads:

"If other Powers deal unjustly or oppressively with either government, the other will exert their good offices, on being informed of the case, to bring about an amicable arrangement, thus showing their friendly feelings."¹

However, the appeal was without effect.

The Korean people were profoundly shocked by this step toward national extinction. One of the highest officials, Min Yong Whan, committed suicide in protest against it.

The next step was taken in July, 1907. The attempt of the Korean Emperor to make a protest and appeal to the Hague Peace Conference led to his forced abdication in favor of his son, and to an enlargement of the powers of the Japanese Resident-General, enabling him to exercise more direct control over the internal affairs of the country. This again stirred deeply the emotions of the people. There was some rioting. Japanese troops patrolled the streets of the capital, and for some days the excitement was intense. The comparatively insignificant Korean army was disbanded, but one company of Korean guards refused to obey this order and submitted only after four hours' fighting with the Japanese troops.

The final step in Korea's loss of independence came in 1910 with the treaty of annexation which was signed on August 22nd and promulgated on August 29th. The system of dual administration with authority and responsibility divided between the Japanese Residency-General and the Korean government had proved clumsy and unsatisfactory. Conditions under the protectorate which finally led to annexation are described in the first annual report issued after the annexation had become a fact.

"Insurgents and brigands continued to appear in certain

¹ Chung, *The Oriental Policy of the United States*, p. 230.

localities, and could not be put down. Escorts of police or gendarmes were often needed for officials, individuals, and letter-carriers, travelling in the remote interior or mountainous regions. Even a certain class of peaceful people, instigated by reckless agitators, were led to believe that Japanese revenue officers would carry away to Japan the money collected as taxes; and thus, frequently, they attempted to do injury to these officials. In the blindness of fury and inspired by short-sighted superstition and mistaken patriotism, a band of Koreans assassinated Mr. Durham White Stevens, a citizen of the United States, Councillor to the Korean Government, in March, 1908, in San Francisco, on his way to Washington on furlough. In October of the following year, Prince Ito, who had filled the office of Resident-General in Korea till June, was also assassinated by a Korean in Harbin Station, when he was on a visit to North China. In the following December, a Korean further attempted to kill Mr. Yi Wan-Yong, the Prime Minister of the Korean Government. . . . In fine, the necessity of annexation grew day by day and the measure was finally carried into effect on August 29, 1910.”¹

With the annexation, the dual control was abolished, and control over all administrative functions in Korea was placed by imperial rescript in the hands of a Japanese Governor-General. This form of government is still continued.

Lawlessness and Hardships under the Dual Government

The violence done to their patriotic sentiments by the political events which have just been outlined was felt most keenly by the people of finest sensibilities. Conditions existed, however, which brought fear and misery and rage to the least sensitive souls.

From the landing of the Japanese force in February, 1894, to the annexation in 1910, the people were practically under a dual government, Korean and Japanese. Instead of making justice doubly sure, this arrangement in reality gave unusual

¹ *Reforms and Progress in Chosen (Korea)*, 1910-11, pp. 9-10.

opportunities to the lawless elements among both the Japanese and the Koreans, but particularly to the former.

The Japanese soldiers were well-behaved and under strict discipline. Unlawful actions by them were almost unknown.¹ But following the army came low class adventurers and fortune hunters who, taking advantage of the dominant position of their nation, began to treat the Koreans as the very scum of the earth, and to impose upon them in many ways. Mr. Hulbert, a contemporary observer, writes: "The Japanese look upon the Koreans as lawful game, and the latter, having no proper tribunals where they can obtain redress, do not dare to retaliate. If they complain at Korean courts, the magistrate lifts hands of horror and asks how in the world he is to get anything out of the Japanese, and if he applies to a Japanese court he is usually turned away without a hearing."²

The acts of the lawless elements were, of course, not a deliberate part of Japanese policy. No doubt the Japanese Resident-General in an address to the missionaries in Seoul in June, 1907, was entirely sincere when he declared: "I dare say that among the many thousands of Japanese in this country there are some who disgrace their nation by misconduct toward Koreans, but you may rest assured that these wrongdoers find in me the most uncompromising enemy."³ In fact, in the years 1906-1908, Japanese regarded as *mauvais sujets* to the number of 107 were deported from Korea by the Japanese authorities.⁴ Nevertheless these lawless acts contributed largely to the bitterness and insecurity felt so poignantly by the Koreans.

Some measures taken by the authorities themselves caused hardships to individuals directly concerned, and were interpreted in a way to cause widespread uneasiness. One of these measures was the appropriation of about 20,000 acres of land for military and naval stations and military railroads. The legal ground for this action was the agreement

¹ Hulbert, *The Passing of Korea*, p. 213.

² *Ibid.*, p. 214.

³ *Annual Report Board of Foreign Missions of Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1907, p. 29.

⁴ *Reforms and Progress in Korea* (1908-9), p. 22.

made between Japan and Korea at the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War in which Korea granted to Japan the right to occupy "such places in Korea as might be necessary from strategical points of view."¹ The Japanese authorities referred the dispossessed owners to the Korean government for settlement and in some cases the Japanese army turned over funds to the Korean government. But the individual owner was subjected to great hardship and often found himself deprived of his land without any compensation.

Acting on the theory that "The country will never be developed unless a well-organized company initiate the exploitation of agriculture and industry with adequate capital and skilled labor,"² the Oriental Development Company was organized in 1908. It had a capital of ten million *yen*, was authorized to issue debentures to the extent of ten times the paid-up capital, and was granted a subsidy by the Japanese government which guaranteed an annual dividend of eight per cent per annum of the paid-up capital for a period of eight years.³ The company soon had under its control more than 14,000 acres of paddy fields and over 6,000 acres of upland.⁴

The government also put into effect a plan for the "utilization of waste land" whereby uncultivated public land could be leased to individuals, either Japanese or Koreans. Many Koreans looked upon both the Oriental Development Company and the waste land utilization scheme as agencies for dispossessing them of their land. Regardless of their actual effect upon the economic life of the country, whether good or bad, these developments increased the general feeling of unrest and insecurity.

The Righteous Army

After the defeat of the Russians, Japan's military control of Korea was never for a moment endangered. The Korean army was negligible. There was no possible way by which

¹ *Reforms and Progress in Korea* (1908-9), pp. 20-21.

² *Ibid.*, p. 15.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-20.

⁴ *Ibid.*, (1909-10), pp. 118-119.

an army could be raised and equipped. Yet throughout this period, bands of the more daring or reckless of the discontented Koreans carried on a guerrilla warfare which, notwithstanding strenuous efforts by the police, gendarmerie, and garrison army, was not finally suppressed until 1911. Some idea of the nature and extent of the insurrection may be gained from the reports of the Japanese authorities.

Concerning an insurrection which broke out in the south in May, 1906, a government report states: "Its leader was one Min Chong Sik, who acknowledged that he was himself a commander of the *Eui-Pyong*, or Righteous Army, and that he had in view the emancipation of his country from Japanese intervention. He especially denounced the treaty stipulation which gives Japan the control of Korea's foreign affairs. Equipped with old fuse cannon and rifles, these insurgents finally attacked the Japanese Gendarmerie, the officials of the post office and the district magistracy in the walled city of Hongju. The city was captured and made the enemy's headquarters. Levying contributions upon the people in the districts, the insurgents inaugurated a reign of terror. But on the despatch of troops from the Japanese Garrison Army, the lawbreakers were compelled to surrender. Eighty were killed and 150 captured."¹

Concerning trouble in other places the official report goes on to say: "The next insurrection was instigated by Choi-Ik-Hyon, a literate of the old school. Having his headquarters first in Seoul, he sent out to all parts of the country seditious documents denouncing the convention which had been concluded in November, 1905, regarding the establishment of the Resident-General, and inciting scholars and young men in the provinces to the point of insurrection. . . . Riots occurred in Seoul in the summer of 1907 caused by the abdication of the ex-emperor . . . the news of the abdication and of these riots subsequently provoked insurrection in the country districts, . . . thus the insurrection

¹ *Annual Report on Reforms and Progress in Korea* (1908-9), p. 77.

became almost general throughout the country except in two or three northern provinces.”¹

At different times proclamations were issued offering pardon to any who would surrender. The official reports show that from July, 1907, to March, 1911, 17,807 insurgents were killed, 4,437 captured, and 10,917 induced to surrender. These figures made a total of 33,161. The number of persons who actually participated in the insurrection was probably several times this figure; but, incomplete as they are, these statistics indicate clearly that the revolutionary spirit was widespread.

The insurgents called themselves the “Righteous Army.” The sympathy of the people was with them, especially in the early years. But the rebels had to live off the people. They would swoop down on a village and exact contributions from it. It became difficult to distinguish between patriotic insurgents and ordinary robber bands. As time went on the futility of this appeal to violence became more and more evident. So the feeling of the people gradually changed from admiration and sympathy to distrust and annoyance.

The peaceable villagers suffered from the officers of the law as well as from the insurgents. A law was promulgated in September, 1907, which made it unlawful for anyone to possess firearms, gunpowder, and other munitions of war without a permit from the police. And the police were given the right to search private dwellings. An official interpretation of the law reads: “The police authorities can inspect the residence of any private individual whenever there is a suspicion of concealment of fire-arms or gunpowder, or when they deem it necessary. Should any one violate the above mentioned regulations, he will be punished with imprisonment, flogging or a fine of not more than fifty *yen*, and the fire-arms or gunpowder in his possession will be confiscated.”²

That the law was not a dead letter is indicated by the fact that during the next thirteen months the authorities seized and confiscated 4,791 “cannon, rifles, and pistols”; 87,556

¹ *Reforms and Progress in Korea* (1908-9), pp. 77-78.

² *Ibid.*, p. 82.

“native match-locks, spears, and swords”; and 133,214 cartridges.¹ In some sections where all the firearms had been taken the pheasants multiplied until they made considerable inroads on the grain crops. The fact that any man’s home might be entered by the police “when they deem it necessary” was a source of irritation, uneasiness, and sometimes terror and pain to the innocent as well as to the guilty.

Christians were sometimes treated with more consideration than others. Amusing stories are told of individuals who were called upon to prove that they were really Christians by repeating the creed, or singing a hymn. One missionary relates: “As the Christians have their hair cut, the Japanese suspected them of being ex-soldiers and the insurgents suspected them of being members of the pro-Japanese *Il Chin* Society. However, so far as I know, neither party interfered with those who were reported by their neighbors to be true Christians. The Bible was a safe passport with either side and saved many from trouble. But woe betided the man who carried a Bible and could not read it! Often a man was tested as to his ability to read and sing. One man . . . on being asked to read and sing . . . had to admit that he could do neither and was shot as a spy. You may be sure this made better students of the Christians.”²

The “Righteous Army” grew out of and in turn helped to create the conditions in which the church had its rapid growth, but the church was not a recruiter for the army. On the contrary, the church stood firm against the resort to violence. On this point there is an abundance of testimony. Rev. W. N. Blair, who has been in Korea since 1901, wrote concerning the first half of this period: “In a day, what centuries of misrule on the part of her own rulers had failed to do, Japanese occupancy accomplished: Patriotism was born in Korea. A wave of intense national feeling swept over the land. ‘Korea for the Koreans,’ and, ‘It is better to die than to be slaves’ were heard on every hand. Naturally there arose a call for every man to declare himself for or

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Report British and Foreign Bible Society*, 1908, p. 331.

against the Japanese. All eyes were turned upon the Christian Church. Many Koreans saw in the Christian Church the only hope for their country. There is no denying the intense loyalty of the church. Christianity gives men backbones. There were not lacking many hotheads in the church itself who thought the church ought to enter the fight. The country wanted a leader and the Christian Church was the strongest, most influential single organization in Korea. . . . It took high courage coupled with wisdom and great love to lead the church aright, to stand up before men burning with indignation at their nation's loss and preach the doctrine of love and forbearance, and forgiveness even of enemies. Yet this is just what the missionaries and our best Korean leaders did." ¹

In the Northern Presbyterian report for 1908 there is this testimony concerning the influence of Pastor Kil, a man who is known throughout the Christian Church in Korea: "But for the influence of the Korean Christians in the north, and particularly of one man, the Elder Kil of Pyengyang, now Pastor Kil, the whole region around Pyengyang, famous for its sturdy fighters, would have arisen in insurrection. But this wise Christian leader . . . with the assistance of the Christian Church . . . turned the fury of the whole north, and delivered Korea from tremendous bloodshed." ²

The Government and Education

In 1906 the Korean government, upon the advice of the Japanese Resident-General, appropriated *yen* 500,000 for the extension of education. The greater part of this sum was used to establish and improve "common schools" which formed the first unit of the government system. The common school offered a four-year course of study which was preparatory to the high school which also offered a four-year course. A normal school was established, and regulations were issued which reserved for the state the exclusive right

¹ Blair, *The Korea Pentecost*, pp. 39-40.

² *Report Board of Missions Presbyterian Church*, U. S. A., p. 269.

to train native teachers. The official report reads: "The new regulations for the normal school, promulgated by Imperial Edict No. 41, on August 27, 1906, do not recognize any private normal school; every normal school must be founded by the central, or provincial, government."¹ The government also maintained foreign language schools. In April, 1907, an Industrial Training School was opened in Seoul which planned to teach dyeing and weaving, ceramics, metal work, manual work, applied chemistry, and civil engineering. The school attracted much interest. Free tuition and lodging and an allowance of six *yen* per month were given to each student. The school opened with seventy-four students.²

The total number of students in all government schools at the end of December, 1907, was 6,294. Of this number, 5,463 were in common schools. Only forty were girls.³ By December, 1910, a law school and several industrial schools had been added and the total number of students had grown to 15,774 of whom 13,836 were in common schools and 1,321 were girls. The total number of teachers was 748, of whom 241 were Japanese.⁴ In all these schools great stress was placed upon the Japanese language.

There was much friction between the government and the private schools and educational associations established by Koreans. The suspicion and mutual antagonism grew out of conflicting political aims. We have already noticed the new interest in western education which arose at the beginning of this period. The idea spread that education was the means by which Japan had risen to her new position of power, and that education would save Korea. It was the magic that would bring to Korea her heart's desire.

Men formerly prominent in political affairs turned their attention to education. Hon. T. H. Yun has already been referred to. Another example was Mr. Yi Dong Whei, who at the time the protectorate was proclaimed was Governor of Kangwha. He gave up his official position and threw himself

¹ *Reforms and Progress in Korea*, 1907, p. 97.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁴ *Reforms and Progress in Chosen* (1910-11), p. 268.

energetically into the work of establishing schools.¹ Others followed his example. Educational associations were formed in many places. Inter-school field-days drew great crowds of visitors who listened with eagerness to the patriotic speeches that formed part of the program. In many schools the boys were taught military drill by ex-officers of the disbanded Korean army.

The Japanese soon took measure to curb this development. It was made unlawful to organize or carry on an educational association without a formal permit from the Minister of Education. Schools were instructed not "to inter-meddle in politics." The holding of inter-school meets was forbidden. Textbooks were inspected. Before a textbook could be used in a school it had first to be submitted to the Minister of Education for his approval.

Because of the strict governmental supervision, the Korean private schools could not be used for the expression of patriotic sentiments, and so lost much of their appeal to their supporters and students. The church schools were inconvenienced by the regulations, but not to the same extent as other private schools. The nationalistic motive, while present, was not so all-absorbing in the church schools and the authorities were more restrained in dealing with the missionaries, who still possessed extra-territorial rights.

In this period the Christian schools outnumbered the government schools. In 1907, there were 14,189 students in the Christian schools as compared with 6,294 in government schools. In 1910, there were 22,963 students in the Christian schools and 15,774 in the government institutions of learning. Not only in numbers but in rank and prestige the Christian schools stood at the top. The only college and the only medical school in the country were mission institutions: the Union Christian College in Pyengyang, which began collegiate work in 1906 by adding two years to the academy course; and the Severance Medical College in Seoul which in 1908 graduated a class of seven men trained in modern

¹ Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions*, p. 136.

medicine. Nearly all the educational work for women was in church schools. The only school for the deaf and blind was a mission school.

Dr. L. George Paik, himself a student in church schools during this period, declares: "The missionaries virtually controlled the intellectual life of the Christians and these in turn were the most influential and progressive members of the village communities."¹

Recalling his own experience, Dr. Paik says: "The writer distinctly remembers that in his town during 1910-1911 the public school under Japanese control had thirty to forty students, while there were enrolled about four hundred boys and girls in the two Christian primary schools. Such a situation in rural districts often created jealousy and competition."²

It should, however, be noted that the church schools had already begun to lose ground in the educational race. The church schools made their greatest gain in the first three years of the period, while the government made their largest gains in the last two years. The non-Christian private schools, motivated so largely by nationalistic feeling, were caught in the net of the government regulations and practically dropped out of the race.

In the fall of 1907 the authorities held an exposition in the capital "primarily to impart general knowledge to the Koreans and to stimulate their interest in modern industrial life." Most of the exhibitors were Japanese. The exhibit was open for over two months, and was attended by 208,417 visitors. According to the official report, the interest of the Koreans was particularly excited by the crudeness of their own exhibits and the superior quality of the Japanese articles.³ Such an experience would naturally increase the discontent of the Korean with his own condition, stimulate the process of change, and augment the culture drift from the West which was noted in the preceding period.

¹ Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions*, p. 393.

² *Ibid.*, p. 394.

³ *Reforms and Progress in Korea*, 1907, p. 88.

CURRENTS MOVING TOWARDS THE CHURCH

Longing for Security

The fact that the disturbed and distressing conditions were turning people to the church is frequently noted in the reports of the missionaries. One man reported that a wild rumor to the effect that there was going to be compulsory emigration to Japan's newly acquired territory in Saghalin had brought numbers out to the church in the hope that association with a Westerner would save them from that fate!¹

Another missionary describes the prevailing mental state, the gospel appeal, and the people's response, in the following words:

"The late war has left its effect upon Korea. In the crisis she finds herself crushed, humbled; and out of her humiliation comes the cry: 'We have lost our power, our name, our life; we have become as dead men. The demons have betrayed us, the spirits of our ancestors, where are they? England and America will not come to our assistance. To whom shall we go? To whom shall we look for life and light? To China? No. We have had her Confucianism and letters for thousands of years, and in them there is no hope . . .'

"The colporteurs have been preaching to the people the gospel of Jesus Christ, and telling them that God will give light to those in darkness, life to the dead, and pardon to the vilest sinner, and that the King of kings and Lord of lords invites all that are heavy laden to come unto him and he will forgive and receive them, and to those who believe he will give a new heart, a new life, a new name, a new light, a new King and kingdom; with the result that in the markets, where only a few books could be sold in former years, now it is the colporteur's joy to see his sales increase a hundred-fold. Daily the hearts of the people are turning Zionward." ²

Clearly many were carried to the church by the same urge

¹ *Minutes Korea Mission*, 1907, p. 38.

² *Report of American Bible Society*, 1906, p. 178.

that takes a man into any shelter that is at hand when a storm suddenly breaks over him. But another and steadier current than this impulsive scurry for shelter was moving toward the church.

Revolutionary Spirit

The characteristic spirit of the period was not a spirit of flight, but a spirit of revolt, a passionate desire to change existing conditions. This revolutionary spirit found expression in various ways. It led some to engage in guerrilla warfare; others to turn to modern education as students or teachers or founders and supporters of schools; and still others to join the Christian church and share its hope and join in its activities for bringing to Korea the blessings of the Kingdom of God.

Patriotic men were drawn to the church by its emphasis upon education, its character-building power, its stable organization, its world-wide connections, its democratic fellowship, and its suggestion of supernatural help. They saw in it an agency for national well-being worthy of their support.

The enthusiasm for education was, as has been noted, a product of the revolutionary spirit. Education was the magic instrument by which independence would be restored and modern civilization acquired. This eagerness for education touched the Bible classes of the church, and gave them an added zest, for they, too, were a form of education.

Timeliness of the New Testament

The events of the period made the Bible glow with contemporary interest. The New Testament in particular seemed like a tract for their own times. As the people read its pages, the old names were pronounced with their lips but contemporary and very definite images arose in their minds. The Roman Empire with its legions was Japan with her soldiers and gendarmes. Wicked Herod, the despised publicans, the politic Sadducees were individuals they knew and could name who were willing for the sake of profit to co-

operate with their country's oppressors. The Zealots were obviously the misguided but patriotic insurgents, some of whom like "Simon who was called the Zealot" had abandoned the way of violent revolution and cast in their lot with the church. The people of little down-trodden Palestine, who had lost their independence, who were smarting under exactions, who were forced to carry loads for the soldiers, who were looking for the restoration of the kingdom, who were weary and heavy-laden, surely these were the Korean people. It was as if a storm had set them looking for a shelter and lightning from the same storm had disclosed the shelter.

Old Patterns of Religious Behavior

The common patterns of religious behavior in Korea have been shaped by three historic strains, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Animism. Buddhism with its quiet monasteries nestling among the hills, its teaching of the illusory character of this world, and its emphasis upon contemplation, the inner world of the spirit, and the rewards and punishments of the future life, has cultivated the attitude of world flight and world denial. Confucianism with its emphasis upon the importance and power of personal uprightness, proper social organization, and education for public office, has developed a tendency to seek for salvation in the purification and organization of society. The animistic practices of the people, like many Buddhist and Confucian practices, encouraged the habit of looking for help in time of trouble to the miraculous intervention of supernatural beings.

In the storm and stress of this period, reaction in any one of these three traditional forms led toward the church. In the world of the inner life made vivid and interesting by the revival experience and in the Christian's picture of the future life there was release and escape from the turbulent world, a feeling which appealed to the temperament which Buddhism had cultivated. In the emphasis of the church upon personal righteousness, upon building the Kingdom of God on

earth, and upon education for public service, there was a strong attraction for the patriot whose ideals had been molded by his Confucian heritage, and who, because his old world was tumbling down about him, was impelled to find a new home for his spirit. In the more friendly and equally vivid supernatural world of the Christian, the animist found a congenial substitute for his own dissolving world of spirits.

CHAPTER IV

NINE LEAN YEARS

THERE were twenty-four missionaries of the Southern Methodist Church on the field the first year of the period 1911-1919, fourteen men and ten women; in the last year there were sixteen men and sixteen women, a total of thirty-two. For the entire period the average number of missionaries each year who had been on the field for two years or more and who therefore could be considered fully effective was twenty-six, more than double the number in the preceding period of rapid growth.

The average number of Korean workers (preachers, colporteurs, Bible women) employed each year was 126 for this period and seventy-four for the preceding. Yet the number of members and probationers dropped from 9,809 in 1910 to 5,877 in 1919 and the average annual number of adult baptisms dropped from 1,137 for the period 1906-1910 to 491 for the period 1911-1919.

If we turn to the statistics of the other churches, we find an analogous condition. In both the Methodist Episcopal and the Presbyterian churches, there is an increase in the number of missionaries and Korean workers and a falling off in the number of baptisms per year, and in both the total number of members and probationers in 1919 is less than in 1911. Clearly then we have come to a period of arrested growth in the church as a whole. What is the explanation?

ACTIVITIES OF THE CHURCH AND MISSION

Evangelistic Methods

The characteristic methods used in the preceding periods, namely, revivals, Bible classes, individual work for individuals, and emphasis upon self-support, were continued throughout this period. At every annual meeting, in the reports for the year that had passed and in the plans for the year ahead, there were references to revivals and Bible

classes. There was no change in the general pattern. Sometimes there were reports of successful revivals in schools and churches; again a waning zeal and enthusiasm was lamented; but the insistence upon the importance of these methods was constant.

In the matter of contributions there was some gain. The total contributions of Korean members fell from *yen* 11,849.92 in 1910 to *yen* 8,638.73 in 1911, but rose again to *yen* 15,650.59 in 1919.

A new evangelizing agency came into wide use in this period. In 1911 an afternoon Sunday school for children was organized in Songdo and taught by the advanced students of Holston Institute (a mission academy for girls) and the Anglo-Korean School. The work was made interesting to children and attracted many from non-Christian homes.¹ The next year we find similar schools in Wonsan, and in 1914 schools with four hundred pupils are reported in Seoul.² A large use was made of Olivet picture cards, and other materials of interest to children prepared and sent out by pupils in the Sunday schools of America.

This new agency was widely used in other churches in Korea. A leader in Sunday school work declared in 1914: "The last three years have witnessed the development of many Sunday schools for non-Christian children by which the church is now reaching many homes, in which the parents, through lack of knowledge or through indifference, had not themselves been willing to become Christians. This latter fact is by far the most important of the recent developments in the Sunday schools of Korea. It has shown that the Sunday school may become a great evangelistic agency whose usefulness will be limited only by the strength and time which it is possible to give to this form of work. It is adding to the church rolls each year hundreds of children and scores of parents who are led by the children."³

A special evangelistic campaign was made at the time

¹ *Minutes Korea Mission*, 1911, p. 62.

² *Ibid.*, 1914, p. 63.

³ J. G. Holdcroft, "Sunday School Work and Methods," *Christian Movement in Japan*, 1914, p. 499.

of the Industrial Exhibition which was held by the government in Seoul in the autumn of 1915. The exhibition was held to commemorate the progress made during the first five years of Japanese rule and to stimulate the further improvement of industries, agriculture, and other measures.¹ People came from all over the country. In fact, the attendance was semi-compulsory, the magistrate of each county bringing a delegation of visitors to the capital.

All the churches united in an effort to reach these visitors with the gospel. The government granted the use of a fine site which all the visitors would have to pass on their way to and from the exhibition grounds. A temporary building was erected with a large preaching room for Koreans, a smaller one for Japanese, and a room for moving pictures. The Korean Religious Tract Society and the Bible Societies had prominent book stalls in front. The exterior was decorated with the flags of all nations and Scripture verses in four languages. On the inside were large colored pictures with selected Scripture texts.

A moving picture service was held daily. Among the favorite films were "The Life of Paul," "Belshazzar's Feast," and "The Story of the First Christmas."

Continuous preaching services were held in the Korean language, the preachers and other workers being furnished by the churches of Seoul and the vicinity. Scores of voluntary tract-distributors met the passers-by and personally invited and conducted them into the services. About half a million tracts were distributed and the names and addresses of 11,627 inquirers from all parts of Korea were taken and forwarded to the churches nearest the residence of the inquirer.

Church Organization

There was much progress in ecclesiastical organization in this period. The first ordination of deacons was in 1911; of elders, in 1915. The first class was graduated from the Theological Seminary in 1911.

¹ *Reforms and Progress in Chosen*, 1914-15, p. 135.

Before 1914 the mission was composed entirely of missionaries. The Korean workers had no part in the annual meeting. The only exception to this rule was Hon. T. H. Yun, who became a member of the mission when he was made president of the Anglo-Korean School. The General Conference of the Church in America passed legislation in 1914 which opened the annual meeting to native workers. So beginning with 1914, two annual meetings were held each year: a meeting of the mission in which the Korean preachers and lay delegates participated, and a missionaries' meeting.

In 1918 the Korea mission was changed into the Korea Annual Conference by action of the General Conference taken in response to a memorial from the Korea mission unanimously requesting that this be done. The first session of the Annual Conference was held in October of that year. The Korea Annual Conference was under the same rules as an annual conference in America. It was composed of preachers, both Korean and missionary, and of lay members elected by the district conferences. Many of the missionaries, not being preachers, were not members of the Conference. The missionaries continued to hold separate annual meetings and to administer the funds contributed by the Church in America.

Educational Work

The number of students in the schools of the mission increased from 1,836 in 1910 to 3,290 in 1918. There was gradual improvement in equipment and teaching force. Kindergarten work was started in three of the stations about 1917 and at once became an attractive feature of the work.

Several experiments at giving industrial training were made, but none proved to be successful in equipping students for making a livelihood after leaving school. The best-known attempt was in connection with the Textile Department of the Songdo School. In August, 1909, a Korean who was an expert in weaving was employed to teach weaving on hand and foot-power looms of Japanese and Korean

models. The students learned to weave many patterns on these looms, but unfortunately market conditions soon became such that weaving on these looms could not be carried on profitably even as a side industry in the home. In 1911 one of the missionary teachers who had had some experience in the cotton mills of North Carolina began to study the work of this department to see what improvements could be made. At length, upon his recommendation, nine power looms were ordered from America and installed in 1913. By using double ply cotton yarns from Japan and fast dyes from Germany a superior quality of cotton cloth was produced which proved to be quite popular with the foreigners in the Orient. It was woven by the students and sold at a profit.

For about three years this department was run as a trade school in which a few students studied weaving and dyeing and related subjects. The difficulty was that there were no remunerative positions open to the students after they had taken the course, the same difficulty that had been encountered in the case of the students who had studied hand-weaving, soap-making, photography, and carpentry. So in 1916 the trade school feature was discontinued and the textile work was carried on as the manual training and self-help department of the school. Its chief function was to furnish to worthy poor boys an opportunity to earn their school expenses. In this aim it succeeded admirably, but the problem of an industrial training that would equip students for earning a livelihood remained unsolved.

The mission coöperated in the Pierson Memorial Bible School, which was established in Seoul in 1912, and participated in the work of the Severance Medical College and Hospital from 1912, and in the work of the Chosen Christian College from 1915.

Early in this period an ambitious educational project was launched by all the missions in Korea. They formed an Educational Federation for the purpose of correlating and improving the educational work of all the churches, dealing

with the government, and securing funds from the homelands for a comprehensive program on the field. A governing body called the "Senate" was formed to which the missions delegated the right to standardize curricula, control final examinations, confer diplomas, determine the location of schools, solicit and administer trust funds, and take steps for the organization of a holding body in the homelands.¹

In the fall of 1912 an experienced missionary was set aside to give one half his time to the work of the Senate, and to be the agent of communication with the government.² For a few years the Senate rendered valuable service in stimulating and guiding the schools in their development, and in helping them make adjustments to the government requirements. In 1915 the government issued mandatory regulations for private schools which fixed the curricula and most matters of educational procedure. Private schools were under the necessity of dealing directly with the government officials. So by 1916 the educational senate became practically useless, and in 1917 it went out of existence.³

During this period there was a strong evangelistic spirit in the schools. In the larger ones special revival services were held annually. The advanced students took an active part in afternoon Sunday schools for children, organized preaching bands and went on preaching tours to the outlying villages. The students of the Anglo-Korean School made a map of the city of Songdo and worked it section by section endeavoring to put a religious tract into every home. A survey made in 1918 showed that three-fourths of the students in church schools came from non-Christian homes, but that practically all of them became Christians.⁴ Undoubtedly the schools were an active evangelizing agency.

Relations with the government were often complicated and difficult. The main purpose of education, in the eyes of the government, was to make loyal subjects of imperial

¹ *Minutes Korea Mission*, 1911, p. 43.

² *Christian Movement in Japan*, 1914, p. 452.

³ *Minutes Korea Mission*, 1917, p. 9.

⁴ *Christian Movement in the Japanese Empire*, 1919, p. 339.

Japan. The Korean students naturally resented this. The missionaries tried to be neutral. They took the position that as citizens of another country they should not intermeddle with political questions in Korea.

The difficulties inherent in this situation came to a head in the case of the Songdo School in the fall of 1916. In October, the tenth anniversary of the founding of the school was celebrated by staging a school exhibit on a large scale. The more than five hundred students entered heartily into the plans. Specimens of the best work done by the students, together with the buildings and equipment, were put on exhibition, and the people of the city and country were invited to come and see. They came in crowds. The students detailed to explain the manikin used in teaching physiology, the fly's leg under the microscope, the electrical apparatus, and other things of interest, talked themselves hoarse. Other students were equally diligent in distributing a gospel tract prepared by one of the teachers and printed especially for the occasion. The people were pleased. The local magistrate praised the educative effect of the exhibit upon the public. Literati of the city wrote poems in Chinese praising the work of the school.

But the triumph was short-lived. Five days after the close of the exhibit, policemen suddenly appeared at the school and arrested, bound, and led down the main street of the city to the police station four teachers and the secretary of the missionary principal. Other arrests soon followed. For some days the cause of the arrests was not known. Later it was learned that some of the students had secretly compiled some popular songs, and mimeographed and sold them. This action in itself was a violation of the publication law, but to make matters worse, some of the songs were anti-Japanese. For several weeks while this matter was being investigated, the school was subjected to great inconvenience. Students and teachers were summoned to the police station from time to time, and detained from a few hours to as many as eighteen days. Various forms of torture

were used by the investigators. The school was thoroughly searched from the books in the library to the minutes of the Y.M.C.A. meetings. The case was not finally disposed of until the following summer, when five were sentenced to imprisonment — three for one year and two for a year and a half.¹

This affair naturally provoked much thought upon the relation of the school to the government. Frequent interviews were had with the higher authorities. The school regulations issued in 1915 had allowed Christian schools ten years of grace in which to meet the requirements, but it was insisted that schools should conform as soon as they were able to meet the requirements in regard to teachers, equipment, and finances. The regulations fixed the curriculum, and forbade the teaching of religion as a curricular subject. However, the authorities gave permission to hold religious services in the school building until a separate chapel building could be secured, and to teach religion to the students outside of the formal curriculum.

After much deliberation, the decision was finally made to conform to the new regulations without further delay, and so at the beginning of the new school year in April, 1917, the Anglo-Korean School was changed into the Songdo Higher Common School. This correlated the school with the educational system of the country and secured for its graduates certain privileges when entering the civil service or the higher government schools. For this reason, the student body and the Koreans generally approved of the step taken by the school.

Christian Literature

In this period missionaries and Korean Christian leaders became increasingly aware of the inadequacy of the existing literature in the Korean language. In a survey of conditions in 1914-15, one missionary wrote: "The church in Korea is fast becoming filled with young men who are inquirers after

¹ *Minutes Korea Mission*, 1917, pp. 38-39.

truth. Naturally they turn to existing literature in their quest. It is a matter of regret that we have not yet in the vernacular, publications of such a nature as to satisfy the cravings of the young mind after philosophical thought. . . . The works of Herbert Spencer, Tolstoi, Darwin and others too numerous to mention are cheaply and beautifully printed in attractive bindings, thus making at the outset a favorable psychological appeal for their contents to the opening mind of the oriental youth.”¹

The chief agency for producing and circulating Christian literature, other than the Bible which was handled by the Bible societies, was the Korean Religious Tract Society, organized in 1889. It had provided tracts and booklets useful in pioneering days. Much use had been made of some works which had been prepared in China in the early mission work, such as Milne's *Discourse on Salvation and the Two Friends*, first published in China in 1819. The Society had produced a number of aids to Bible study, such as outlines of books of the Bible, and *Geography of the Holy Land*; books for stimulating and guiding church workers; e.g., *Art of Soul Winning*, *How to Lead Men to Christ*; simple publications on hygiene; e.g., *Care of Infants*, *Malaria, Flies and Disease*; and some textbooks for church schools. A survey of its publications made in 1917-1918 showed that the Society had a list of less than four hundred publications, of which about fifty were sheet tracts, fifty more were educational texts, and the others were mostly Bible helps and aids to Christian work.²

In the latter part of the period the Tract Society changed its name to Christian Literature Society and tried to enter a wider field, but there were many difficulties, such as lack of funds; strict government censorship which restricted the treatment of current events and problems; the question of orthodoxy among the missionaries; the competition of a varied and cheap literature in the Japanese language which a growing number of Koreans could read.

¹ *Christian Movement in the Japanese Empire*, 1915, pp. 366-367.

² J. S. Gale, "Survey of Christian Literature," *Christian Movement in Japanese Empire*, 1918, pp. 419-424.

Considerable advance was made in periodical literature in this period. The *Christian Messenger*, a weekly union newspaper, was begun in 1915; the *Theological World*, a magazine published by the Union Methodist Theological Seminary, was started in 1916; and the *Centenary Bulletin*, published by the Southern Methodist Church, began in January, 1919. A monthly Sunday school magazine was started by Korean leaders in 1917, and various improvements were made in the Sunday school literature during the period.¹

Plans for Centenary Advance

The year 1919 marked the hundredth anniversary of the organization of the Methodist Missionary Society in America. The home church planned to celebrate this event with a great missionary advance, and the various fields were instructed to prepare a statement of the things they would need in a five-year program of advance. To plan in detail what could be wisely undertaken in a five-year program on the assumption that additional missionaries and adequate funds would be available, was a new and stimulating experience for the missionaries. The Korea mission made a thorough study of the field and forwarded its findings to the authorities of the home church in January, 1918. Their program called for an increase in funds for additional missionaries and for land, buildings, equipment, and running expenses of mission institutions totalling \$1,426,680.00. This amount was to be distributed over the period 1919-1923. The church in America approved these askings and undertook to raise the funds.

The missionaries and Korean leaders then planned an advance which they were to carry out on the field. In September, 1918, plans were outlined which set as the general goal of the celebration on the field: "To increase the spiritual resources of the church by developing in each congregation, institution, Epworth League, Sunday school and missionary

¹ *Christian Movement in the Japanese Empire*, 1918, p. 368.

society: (1) Intercessory prayer, (2) Stewardship of life and money, (3) Personal evangelism, (4) Self-support, (5) Missionary giving."

The financial goal was: "To bring all of the congregations now organized to self-support within the next five years."¹

Ten lines of special endeavor were outlined which set a high standard of activity and development for church members, church organizations, and mission institutions, and aimed at permeating society with the Christian spirit. The standard set for schools and hospitals was: (1) Every teacher and student, every doctor, nurse, and helper a Christian, an intercessor, a tither, and winner of one for Christ; (2) The student body increased to meet full capacity of building; (3) Volunteers for special Christian service.²

Plans were completed in the fall of 1918 for launching the advance movement in 1919. Rev. J. S. Ryang was appointed Centenary Secretary of the Conference, and began at once the preparation of suitable literature. The first number of the *Centenary Bulletin*, a monthly publication in the interest of the Centenary advance, came out in January. But in March the Independence Movement swept everything else aside, and the regular plans for the Centenary advance were necessarily postponed until the next year which proved to be a more convenient season.

ACTIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT AFFECTING MISSIONS

Security of Life and Property

The annexation in August, 1910, gave to Japan full power and full responsibility in the administration of Korea. Japan took up the task with energy. The guerrilla warfare which had lasted throughout the preceding period was promptly ended. The courts were improved. The taxes were collected according to law. The improvement in law and order over the preceding period is often noted in the observations of contemporary writers.

¹ *Report of Committee of Eight on Plans for the Centenary Celebration*. Manuscript.

² *Ibid.*

In 1915 Rev. W. G. Cram wrote: "Peace and a measure of material prosperity are the present heritage of the Korean people. The fruits of man's toil are secured to him. Easy access of all classes to the courts, and a speedy adjudication of controversies has inspired a general confidence on the part of the people at large. Old practices of graft and oppression have been eliminated." ¹

In 1918 Mr. Hugh Miller, Agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, wrote: "The government is fully established and the well-doer is encouraged and the wrong-doer punished, and punished according to the Penal Code of Japan, the remnants of the Korean Code having been abolished during the year. The people have every reasonable guarantee of the security of life and property." ²

Many of the fears which had haunted the minds of the people — fear of brigands, fear of lawless Japanese, fear of corrupt tax collectors and other officials — were now weakened or exorcised completely.

The Conspiracy Case

But while a new sense of security was coming to the minds of the people generally, the Christians met with a new anxiety due to the attitude of the police and gendarmes toward them. Writing in November, 1912, Dr. Arthur J. Brown of the Presbyterian Board of Missions said: "For more than two years, reports have reached us from various parts of the country of growing suspicion and harshness by Japanese local gendarmes toward the helpless Korean Christians. . . . Pastors were required to report the names of converts at police headquarters. A gendarme entered a private house, drew his sword threateningly and asked why the owner had joined "the Jesus Church" the night before. Shop-keepers who became Christians were visited by the police and remonstrated with for closing their places of business on Sunday. In one country church, a Japanese

¹ *Christian Movement in Japanese Empire*, 1915, p. 371.

² *Ibid.*, 1918, p. 321.

official walked into the pulpit during a Sunday service and denounced Christianity to the congregation.”¹

During the winter of 1911-1912 many Christians from different parts of the country were arrested and taken to Seoul for examination. Among them was Baron T. H. Yun, who was arrested in Seoul on February 5, 1912. On April 1, the procurator of the Seoul local court charged 123 persons with conspiring against the life of Count Terauchi, the Governor-General.² Ninety-eight of the accused were Christians.³ On September 28th one hundred and five were sentenced to penal servitude for terms ranging from five to ten years, and the others were acquitted on account of insufficiency of evidence. The case was appealed to the Seoul Appeal Court, where it was tried from November 26, 1912, to February 25, 1913, and attracted wide attention. Detailed charges of torture used in the preliminary examination were made by the defendants, and statements which they claimed they had been forced to make under unendurable torture were repudiated in open court. In the judgment delivered March 20th, ninety-nine were acquitted, and Baron Yun and five others sentenced to prison terms ranging from four to six years.

The convicted men appealed again, and the Seoul Higher Court transferred the case to the Taiku Local Court; which in a judgment delivered July 15th, sentenced them to six years each. This judgment was upheld by the Seoul Higher Court, October 9, 1913. Mr. Yun and his five fellow-prisoners served their sentences until February 10, 1915, when, in the words of the official report, “His Majesty, the Emperor, magnanimously granted them a special pardon by reason of his great love and mercy.”⁴

The action of the government in this case is not easy to explain. Possibly the course taken was the result of conflicting policies and beliefs within the ranks of the officials

¹ A. J. Brown, *The Korean Conspiracy Case*, pp. 6, 8-9.

² *Reforms and Progress in Chosen*, 1912-13, pp. 56-60.

³ *British and Foreign Bible Society*, 1913, p. 363.

⁴ *Reforms and Progress in Chosen*, 1914-15, p. 47.

themselves. The missionary body was unanimous in the belief that the accused were innocent of the charges brought against them. The writer was intimately associated with Baron Yun before his arrest and after his release, and visited him in prison. The charge against him was inconsistent not only with his character and public conduct but with his privately and informally expressed opinion of the resort to violence, and his genuine distress at the assassination of Prince Ito.

There is no doubt, however, that the general effect of the Conspiracy Case upon the mind of the public was to make non-Christians hesitate to move towards the Christian Church.

Cramping Regulations

During this period governmental regulations were issued and enforced dealing with practically every activity of life from the registration of births to the manner and place of burial. This was the method by which the government brought about the order and security to which we have previously referred and by which reforms and progress were effected. Nevertheless, many of the regulations hampered the activities of the Christian movement.

In August, 1915, general regulations were issued "In order to supervise the propagation of any creed, whether Buddhist, Christian, or Shintoist, or conducted by Koreans, Japanese, or foreigners."¹ These regulations required "persons desiring to engage in religious propagation in Korea to report to the Governor-General the name of the religion and its particular denomination, an outline of its teachings, and the method of propagation, accompanied with personal references proving them to have the qualifications of a preacher."²

The regulations also state "Those desiring to build churches, preaching houses, or other similar institutions should also obtain permission. . . . Furthermore, in case the Governor-General considers the methods of religious propa-

¹ *Reforms and Progress in Chosen*, 1915-16, p. 28.

² *Ibid.*

gation . . . improper, he may order changes made in them.”¹

Under the guise of enforcing government regulations it became possible for petty officials who were so disposed to annoy Christian workers. Colporteurs and preachers were called upon at times to show their permits, and summoned to the police station to explain their preaching. A missionary writing in 1918 reported: “Police and gendarmes have also in many places made it difficult to sell books, because of the inquisitorial methods not only with the colporteurs themselves but with the inhabitants in the villages where they travelled and attempted to dispose of the Scriptures.”²

A vigilant censorship was exercised over all printed matter. During the five years 1911-1915, newspapers were confiscated 794 times “on account of containing matter injurious to peace and morality” and 721 books were confiscated or prohibited sale. The number of copies confiscated was, of course, much larger. In 1912, for example, the number of books confiscated was 87,124, and the copies of newspapers confiscated amounted to 25,352. This censorship made it practically impossible to refer to or comment upon current events and problems in the literature put out by the Christian movement, and so the appeal and scope of this literature was decidedly restricted.

Reference has already been made to the educational regulations. The tendency here was to force all education, private as well as public, into one set of molds in which religious instruction would be excluded from the curriculum. The qualifications in regard to teachers were such that it was often difficult or impossible to secure enough teachers for the higher schools who could meet the technical requirements of the government, and at the same time possessed the religious and personality qualifications desirable in a church school. The financial requirements in regard to annual income and endowment were often difficult to meet, and,

¹ *Reforms and Progress in Chosen*, p. 29.

² *Annual Report American Bible Society*, 1919, p. 294.

even when all requirements had been met, the school too often became a pale copy of a government school.

Up to November, 1913, there had been no general regulations controlling the practise of medicine in Korea. At that time provision was made for licensing medical workers. In regard to foreigners, the regulations granted the right to practise in Korea to "those foreigners who have obtained licences in their respective countries in which qualified Japanese subjects are permitted to practise medicine."¹ This means in effect that the licences of British physicians are recognized in Korea, but those of Americans are not recognized because America has no reciprocity agreement with Japan in regard to the practice of medicine, while Great Britain permits qualified Japanese physicians to practise their profession in England. However, the Japanese authorities granted to Americans who were already practising in Korea the right to continue. American physicians and nurses coming to Korea after 1913 are required to pass an approved examination before engaging in their profession in Korea. The authorities have been considerate and have given the examinations in the English language and yet the strain of having to prepare for and take these examinations has been heavy on the new medical workers.

Thus all the major activities of the mission work — evangelistic, educational, literary, and medical — were hampered to some degree by government regulations. This, of course, was an incidental by-product, not the object of the regulations, but it was one factor in slowing down the growth of the church.

Government Schools

Early in this period the government schools moved into the center of the educational stage. The number of students in these schools increased from less than 16,000 in 1910 to more than 95,000 in 1918, and the students in Christian schools who were in a majority in 1910 were by the end of

¹ *Reforms and Progress in Chosen*, 1913-14, p. 128.

the period outnumbered three to one. Not only in size but also in physical equipment, in financial strength, and in the technical training of their faculties, the government schools stood in the lead and, other things being equal, a graduate of a government school found it easier to secure a place in the professional, political, and business world of the day.

A fundamental principle in the government system of education is the separation of religion and education. One official statement reads as follows: "As freedom of religion is secured by the Imperial Constitution, one of the fundamental principles of the Imperial Educational Administration is to keep education independent of religion, so that schools, whether public or private, participating in national education may not be affected by the religious influence of any particular creed."¹ The regulations of 1915 extended the application of this principle to private as well as government schools.

The superior position and prestige attained by the government schools hindered the growth of the church schools and checked the current toward the church which had been due to the attraction of its schools. The emphasis upon the separation of religion and education had the effect of discounting religion, and the study of general science, even in the common schools, began to create a mental atmosphere unfavorable to all religion — a condition of which the full effect was not felt until the period which began about 1925.

Government Medical Service

Among the many measures taken by the Government-General for improving the sanitary and hygienic conditions of the country, was the establishment of hospitals. In the capital, a hospital which had been established in 1907 was designated the Government-General Hospital and maintained as a central medical institution for the whole peninsula. It was greatly enlarged, well-equipped, and well-staffed with competent Japanese doctors. The charge for Korean

¹ *Reforms and Progress in Chosen, 1914-15*, p. 159.

patients was reduced.¹ Attached to it was a Medical Training School which gave a four-year course in medical training proper, a two-year course in midwifery, and a one-year course in nursing.²

In order to extend the benefits of modern medicine, charity hospitals were established in each province. These hospitals treated 52,856 Korean patients in 1910, and 356,208 in 1915. The total number of treatments for 1915 was 2,198,788.³

This medical work of the government, valuable, and extensive as it was, reached only a small fraction of the people. The medical resources of the government and missions combined were pitifully inadequate when compared with the need. So from a medical point of view, Dr. Van Buskirk was correct when he said in 1917, referring to the missionary work: "The presence of government hospitals and a few private doctors has in no wise diminished the opportunity that our hospitals have before them."⁴ Yet the effect of mission medical work upon the public mind could no longer be exactly the same as in the earlier period when the Christian movement was the sole carrier of the benefits of modern medicine. Modern medical service could no longer be regarded as a unique characteristic of Christianity. In popular thought the bond between the church and the healing art had been loosened, and modern medicine was seen as something separate or at least something separable from Christianity.

Economic Problem

In this period we have the anomaly of a rapid development of the material resources of the country under the guidance of the government and at the same time an increasing pressure of unsatisfied economic desires upon the minds of the people.⁵ The situation which emerged at this time became more acute in the period after 1924.

¹ *Ibid.*, 1911-12, p. 197.

² *Ibid.*, p. 209.

³ *Ibid.*, 1915-16, p. 145.

⁴ *Christian Movement in the Japanese Empire*, 1918, p. 355.

⁵ *Annual Report British and Foreign Bible Society*, 1913, p. 355.

Annual Report American Bible Society, 1914, p. 403; 1919, p. 294.

The Korean Christians found it difficult to support the institutions of the church and to find leisure for its services. The non-Christians were pre occupied with their economic wants. They could see in the church no assistance in winning the satisfaction of these wants. Their Christian neighbors had no solution to offer. The church schools were fumbling at industrial education, but without any appreciable success in raising the economic status of their constituency.

SUMMARY: THE REACTIONS OF THE PEOPLE

Under the Protectorate the people still hoped that the permanent loss of political independence could be averted. The preamble to the agreement of November 17, 1905, had left the door of hope ajar by its provision that "the following stipulations are to serve until the moment arrives when it is recognized that Korea has attained national strength." The Annexation in August, 1910, closed this door and locked it.

This event marked a change in the mind of the people. The revolutionary spirit which was so marked in the period 1906-1910 now gave way to a reluctant acceptance of the inevitable. Political hope still smoldered in the hearts of the people, but it was not warm enough to support the revolutionary attitude. A *modus vivendi* had been arrived at, and the people began to adjust themselves to it. The church was no longer looked upon by outsiders as a possible instrument for saving the life of the nation. Nor was it a place of refuge. On the contrary, under the new régime, the people in the church seemed to be having more trouble than the people out of it.

Then, too, modern education and modern medicine were no longer solely or chiefly in the custody of the church. In the preceding period, these two had seemed to form with the Christian Church one united trait-complex in which the attraction of each part drew toward the whole. Now that condition was changed, and, while education and medical service were still beyond the reach of most of the people,

they could be obtained elsewhere as well as in the church institutions.

The desires of the people were being focussed upon the economic goods that had been brought within their sight but for the most part were still beyond their grasp. Their attention was occupied also with the efforts to adjust themselves to the multitudinous regulations by which they were now controlled. Their troubles and the cure for them seemed to lie within the work-a-day world, and did not impel them to seek for supernatural aid, as the larger ambitions and uncertainties and more tumultuous alarms of the preceding period had done. The growth of the church was arrested because the currents that had been bringing people in large numbers to its doors had ceased to flow.

In 1919 a radical change took place. Gradually there had been forming within the minds of the people the mental condition that is sometimes observable in a prison riot. The security of their existence seemed to them to be only the security of a prison. This near-desperation was quickened by a ray of hope and faith from the victory of the Allies and the pronouncements of President Wilson. A revolutionary spirit was born again, and the result was the Independence Movement of 1919.

Numerically this year marks the lowest point to which the church fell. The leading Korean pastors were in jail. On account of disturbed conditions the missionaries could travel but little. Baptisms almost ceased. But in reality this revival of the revolutionary spirit was the prelude to a period of rapid growth. We shall turn to the Independence Movement again in the study of the next period.

CHAPTER V

SECOND PERIOD OF RAPID GROWTH

SINCE 1910 the curve representing the total number of Southern Methodist members and probationers had been steadily going downward; in 1920 the curve turned sharply upward again, and within five years there was a net gain of 102 per cent. In each of the other churches in Korea also the year 1920 marks the beginning of a period of growth, though the rate is most rapid in the Southern Methodist Church.

THE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

This period of rapid growth was ushered in by the Independence Movement which, as has been seen, was launched in March, 1919. Certain features of this movement throw light in this period and also help to an understanding of the check in church growth which came in the next.

The uprising was due in part to the victory of the Allies in the World War. It took place while the Peace Conference was in session at Paris. The Koreans had seen the World War from the point of view of the Allies. The press censorship maintained by the Japanese had filtered out all other propaganda. The missionaries knew no other side. They accepted the idealistic interpretation of the church press and the religious leaders in America. The war was a righteous crusade. By formal resolution they declared themselves "willing and ready to make any sacrifice necessary to win the War," and assured the authorities that any request for workers would receive prompt attention and hearty coöperation.¹ The victory of the Allies was to them a victory of right over might.

The Koreans shared this view. They were thrilled by the stories of heroism and self-sacrifice. In at least one place the Korean women in their missionary society rolled bandages and knitted washcloths for the Red Cross.² The speeches of

¹ *Minutes Korea Mission*, 1918, pp. 47-48.

² *Ibid.*, 1919, p. 26.

President Wilson revived crushed hopes of freedom; and against the background of the irritating restrictions which hemmed them in on every side, freedom appeared most alluring. And so while the Peace Conference was in session in Paris, the Koreans plucked up faith and courage to make an appeal to the moral force of the world which had just emerged victorious from the struggle with Germany, the incarnation, so they had been told, of armed might.

Their appeal took the form of a dramatic, nation-wide, non-violent demand for independence. The authorities tried to put down the movement with the military force of which they had an unlimited amount. For a time stark terrorism was relied upon, but the authorities soon found themselves non-plussed at the limitations of force in dealing with the spirits of a determined people. Then better counsels prevailed, and Japan sent over a new governor-general with a program of reforms.

Religious Character of Movement

The Independence Movement was religious as well as political. The thirty-three signers of the declaration of independence were religious leaders: fifteen of them were prominent Christian preachers; fifteen were leaders of the *Chundo-Kyo*, formerly called Tong-Hak, which now numbered several hundred thousand; and three were Buddhists.¹ The method of non-violence was selected on religious grounds. The declaration of independence is colored by religious idealism. The following sentences from that interesting document illustrate that fact, and also reveal something of the temper and thought of the Korean leaders:

"We herewith proclaim Korea an independent state and her people free. We announce it to the nations of the world, and we also make it known to our posterity for ten thousand generations that they may hold this right as free people for all time. . . . Victims of the inheritance of an ancient age of

¹ Hugh Heung-Wo Cynn, *The Rebirth of Korea* (New York, 1920), p. 26.

plunder and brute force, we have come, for the first time in our history of thousands of years, to taste for a decade the bitterness of oppression by an alien race. . . . Our wish is to move the Japanese government . . . to change to something better and return by a straight road to the path of innocence. . . .

"Independence for us today, while it means an honor due Korea, at the same time means Japan's departure from an unjust way to one in which she may truly assume the great responsibility of the protector of the Far East. . . . It means, too, a step toward the peace and happiness of the whole human race in which the peace of the Far East is so important a part. . . .

"A new world is opening before our eyes; the age of force departs and that of truth and righteousness comes in. . . . A new spring is dawning and all life hastens to awake. As insects, paralyzed by the season of ice and chilling snow, under the influence of soft winds and warm sunshine, return to life and being, so do we, beholding the renewal of the world and the turning of the tide of the age, step forward without hesitation or fear.

"Holding fast to the inherent right of liberty, let us find satisfaction in the pursuit of happiness, and, developing our distinctive ability which alone can satisfy the heart, let the inner nature of our people bloom forth in the great world flooded with the light of spring.

"We now rise in power. Our conscience is with us and truth accompanies us." ¹

A religious note appears also in the petition for independence which was sent to the Governor-General of Korea and the Premier of Japan by two leading Confucian scholars, Viscounts Kim and Yi, President and Vice-President respectively of the government Confucian College. Note the following passage from their petition:

"It is now ten years since Japan and Korea were united, and though there has resulted from it no little profit to the

¹ Cynn, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-22.

people with the clearing away of abuses, still it cannot be said to have made the people happy.

"Today when the call for independence is given in the street, voices without number answer in response. In ten days and less the whole nation vibrates with its echo, and even the women and children vie with each other with no fear of death in their hearts. What is the reason for such a state of things as this? . . . We call this an expression of the people, but is it not, rather, the mind of God himself? . . .

"We read the mind of God in the attitude of the people." ¹

Another significant feature of the Movement was the prominent part taken by students. Without exception, students from every important school, public and private, Christian and non-Christian alike, staged public demonstrations. Without flinching they endured wounds and imprisonment and torture and sometimes even death itself.

The effect of the Independence Movement upon the spirit of the Koreans generally was most pronounced. They regained their self-respect. They were amazed and delighted at their own temerity and endurance, even while they were suffering and physically helpless before the force that beat them down. They were proud of their loyalty to one another and to the cause.

Increased Esteem for Christians

The relation of native Christians and missionaries to the Independence Movement gave favorable publicity to the Christian cause and led the people generally to look upon it as an ally in the struggle for the realization of the desire that was uppermost in all their minds. It has already been noted that fifteen of the thirty-three signers of the declaration of independence were Christians. These men at once became popular heroes. The Korean Christians everywhere took a prominent part in the demonstrations. The missionaries maintained a neutral position with reference to the political issue involved, but they protested vigorously against the

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 56-59.

methods used by the authorities in breaking up the unarmed demonstrations and in dealing with the prisoners. They ministered sympathetically to the wounded who made their way to the mission hospitals. It was mainly through missionary channels that news of the atrocities that were being committed by the military reached the public in Japan and in the rest of the world.

In the first days of the Movement, Japanese newspapers in Korea which were looked upon as reflecting official sentiment, published abusive articles against the missionaries and accused them of being responsible for the uprising. For example, the *Chosen Shimbun* in its issue of March 12th declared: "The stirring up of the minds of the Koreans is the sin of the American missionaries. This uprising is their work. . . . They plant the seeds of democracy. So the greater part of the 300,000 Korean Christians do not like the union of Japan and Korea, but they are waiting for an opportunity for freedom. . . . These missionaries have crept out as reptiles, on their belly as far as Korea: there is nothing good that can be said of their character, knowledge, or disposition." ¹

It should be added that the director of judicial affairs gave out a statement absolving the missionaries from complicity in the disturbances. Still the charges against the missionaries, instead of discrediting them in the minds of the people, put them in greater favor. They were looked upon as comrades in spirit even though they remained neutral in political action.

GOVERNMENT REFORMS

Fortunately, as the news of what was happening in Korea gained publicity in Japan, there was a reaction against it. The Governor-General was recalled in August, 1919, and a successor was appointed to modify the policy of Japan in Korea and introduce reforms in the administration.

The new Governor-General, Admiral Baron (now Vis-

¹ Cynn, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-64.

count) Makoto Saito, was well fitted for his difficult task. For nine years he had served as Minister of the Navy. He was an able and experienced administrator. Although a retired admiral, he was not content to rest his program upon force and authority, but preferred to have it supported by the goodwill and honest approval of the people and officials. In his instructions to higher officials issued September 3rd, he asserted: "The purport of the revised official organization is to enlarge the application of the principle of universal brotherhood, which is the keynote of the Imperial Rescript recently issued. . . . The Koreans and Japanese must be treated alike as members of the same family."¹

In the same month, fifty-one prominent Koreans from various parts of the country were assembled in the capital for the purpose of acquainting them with the policy of the new régime. A week was spent in explaining the reforms that were planned in the administration of the country, and the Korean leaders were invited to express their views.

Within a short time the new régime had a long list of reforms to its credit.² The police administration of the country which up to this time had been in the hands of the military was transferred to a Police Affairs Bureau under the direction of civil officials. The rule requiring public officials to wear military uniforms was modified, and the public mind was no longer provoked, as had been the case heretofore, by the constant sight of swords dangling from the sides of depot agents, post-office officials, judges in the civil courts, and even teachers in all grades of schools from the primary up.

Regulations concerning the burial of the dead and concerning the slaughter of domestic animals were altered to meet the convenience of the Korean people.

Additional restrictions and safeguards were placed upon the requisition of labor and land by government officials for the building of roads.

¹ *Reforms and Progress in Chosen*, 1918-21, pp. 205, 6.

² *Outline of Administrative Reforms in Chosen* (Reprinted from the *Seoul Press*), August 1920.

Restrictions on the press were somewhat relaxed and three daily papers in the Korean language began publication in the capital in the spring of 1920.

As a step toward the removal of discrimination in the treatment accorded to Japanese and Korean officials, the salaries of the latter were raised. Korean judges and public procurators had formerly been allowed to exercise their authority only in civil cases in which both the plaintiff and the defendant were Koreans, and in criminal cases in which the accused were Koreans. This restriction was now removed, and they were allowed to participate in cases concerning either Japanese or Koreans. Flogging, which up to this time had been a legal method of punishment for Koreans, but not for Japanese, was abolished.

The post of principal of a public common school which had formerly been given exclusively to Japanese was opened to Koreans, and by June 15, 1920, nineteen Korean teachers had been appointed principals of public schools. A plan was instituted to increase the number of public common schools from 556, the number at the end of 1919, to 870 within four years. This would be an average of one school for every three villages.

Various changes were made in the educational field which made the schools more attractive to Korean students. English could now be taught five periods a week in high school where previously only two periods a week had been permitted. Korean students were eager to learn English, hoping to find in it a door to the literature and knowledge of the West and a window for looking out upon the current events of the world. Inter-school athletics, which for some years had been under the ban, were permitted and added to the zest and enjoyment of student life. The period of study in common schools was increased from four to six years, and in higher common schools from four to five years. This change permitted the schools for Koreans to become equal to the schools for Japanese, and made it easier for Koreans who wished to go to Japan for further study to secure admission

to the higher schools in Japan proper. Plans were announced for establishing a university in the capital.

The effect of these changes was seen at once in the increased attendance and in the mental attitude of the students. The movement of the young people toward the schools was like a tidal wave. Schools of every sort, public and private, were filled to overflowing. The number of students jumped from 144,338 in 1918 to 222,007 in 1921. These figures do not include the old style one-room schools for teaching the Chinese character, called *Sebtangs*.¹

The psychological change was even more striking. Before the reforms, the educational course had been circumscribed and formal, and led only to a clerkship or some other subordinate and prosaic position. Now it seemed to reach to the farthest horizons. It connected with all the highways of the world and stretched out toward the frontiers beyond which lay the realms of undiscovered knowledge. The goals were less definite and more distant, but they reflected the rosy light of the hopes that were stirring in the hearts of the Korean people.

Regulations concerning religious propaganda were simplified. Hereafter in establishing a new church it was not required to secure permission in advance, but only to report its establishment to the authorities.

Up to this time the property of the missions had been held in the names of individual missionaries or Koreans, since foreign corporations like the mission boards were not recognized. Provision was now made whereby a foreign religious body carrying on work in Korea could organize a legal holding body which could be registered with the government.

THE CENTENARY ADVANCE

The forward movement which had been planned to begin in 1919, but which had been suspended on account of the Independence agitation of that year, was resumed with great vigor in 1920.

¹ *Christian Movement in the Japanese Empire*, 1922, p. 378.

For some years the annual appropriation by the mission board in America for the general work in Korea had been about \$73,000.00. In 1920 there was added to this sum a Centenary appropriation of about \$198,000.00. There was also a large increase in the amount appropriated for woman's work. This large increase in funds — more than threefold — made it possible to carry out large plans for a centenary advance along both evangelistic and institutional lines.

Evangelistic Work

The objectives of the evangelistic advance were clearly envisaged and were stated as follows:

1. Every member consciously converted, a family altar in every Christian home, and a revival in every church.
2. One thousand new probationers and one thousand tithers in our church this year.
3. One hundred candidates for the ministry and one hundred women volunteers within the next four years.
4. Every church and every parsonage a brick or tile-roofed house within the next four years.
5. Every organized church a self-supporting church within the next four years.¹

A Centenary speaking team made up of five outstanding Korean leaders was organized to carry the message of the movement throughout the church. At least three members of this team visited every charge in the church during the first four months of the year, and explained the objectives of the undertaking.

The *Centenary Bulletin* was published monthly and sent to all the churches. Special pamphlets were printed and widely circulated on such topics as: the prayer life, the Christian home, personal work, opportunities in the ministry, young people's work, the Woman's Missionary Society, stewardship, the Kingdom of God.

By September the Korean Centenary Secretary, Rev. J. S. Ryang, was able to report to the Annual Conference: "The

¹ *Minutes Korea Mission*, 1920, p. 81.

Centenary spirit is growing day and night like bamboo shoots in spring and spreading hither and thither like wild fire. Hundreds of families have already decided to have daily family altar, to give their tithes to the Lord and to do personal work with their neighbors, and there are also many church buildings being erected. . . . The support of the ministry has also been greatly increased in every congregation . . .”¹

“The Korean women are also quite awake and doing many things which were never dreamed of a few years ago. For instance, they are now publishing two monthly magazines which are edited with little or no help from men, which shows both their ability and activity.”²

The year 1920-1921 saw still greater advance in the organization of the evangelistic campaign and in results achieved. Dr. W. G. Cram, an experienced missionary to Korea who had been detained in America for three years to serve in the Centenary Campaign in the home church, returned to Korea in July, 1920, as General Secretary of the Centenary Movement in Korea. Rev. J. S. Ryang continued as Centenary Secretary of the Korea Conference, and Rev. L. C. Brannan was appointed Centenary Evangelist.

The Centenary in America had made available for use on the field missionary funds in unprecedented amounts. The Korean people generally were more friendly toward the church than ever before, and they were hopefully looking for a better day. It was under these conditions that the secretaries outlined careful and ambitious plans for enlisting the entire Christian force, missionary and Korean, preachers and lay members, both men and women, in a campaign to reach every man, woman, and child of the more than a million and a quarter non-Christians in Southern Methodist territory in Korea.

A training class for volunteer workers was held in Songdo for one month in the fall; ninety-five men and women from the various districts were thereby prepared for taking part in

¹ *Ibid.*, 1920, p. 83.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

the evangelistic campaign. Each of these individuals gave from thirty to sixty days to the work without salary.

Geographically, the non-Christians were in three groups: in country villages where there were no churches near, in villages near country churches, and in the four cities in which the mission stations were located. A special campaign was planned and carried out for reaching each group.

For work in the non-Christian villages, a preaching band was organized in each presiding elder's district. A band was made up of one missionary, two Korean preachers, one singer, one colporteur, and two Bible-women. Special care was exercised in selecting leaders for the bands. All of the bands met together for a two-day "set-up" meeting in Seoul, and then began work in their respective districts in November, 1920.

A band would go to a village where there was no church, and spend from two to five days in visiting the villagers by day and holding public meetings for them by night. By the end of August, 1921, the preaching bands had enrolled 10,405 new believers.

To win the non-Christians in the villages within reach of country churches already in existence, special meetings led by leading laymen and preachers from both city and country were held simultaneously in all the country churches. As a result of this effort, 3,986 new believers were enrolled.

In the cities a special evangelistic campaign was carried out in each of the eleven urban churches from January 10 to 18, 1921, with the result that 985 new believers were enrolled.

During 1921-1922 the evangelistic campaign was continued on the same general lines as in the preceding year. From his bed in a hospital in Yokohama, a few days before his death, Bishop W. R. Lambuth addressed a letter to the Annual Conference which assembled in Seoul, September 14, 1921. In this message Bishop Lambuth exhorted the members "to organize and press a campaign which shall not cease until every city, village, and hamlet has been reached, and every man, woman, and child in our territory has had an

adequate opportunity to hear and know that Jesus can and will save all who call upon him.”¹ Bishop Lambuth was recognized as the peerless missionary leader of the church. Both Koreans and missionaries held him in the highest esteem. His exhortation was in harmony with their own inclinations, and a faithful effort was made to carry out the last request of their beloved leader.

In the spring of 1922, two of the Centenary secretaries, Rev. W. G. Cram and Rev. J. S. Ryang, went to America as delegates to the General Conference which convened in May of that year. Dr. Cram remained in America as director of the Centenary in the home church. Notwithstanding the absence of these two important leaders during a large part of the year, no less than 117 new groups were organized that year,² and at the meeting of the Annual Conference in September, the Evangelistic Committee was able to report that during the past two years more than 200 new groups had been formed, and 28,000 new believers had been enrolled.³

From this time on, less effort was made to enrol new believers. This change of policy was not a matter of choice, but of necessity. Unavoidably, much of the time and strength of the leaders was engaged in the work of trying to nourish and hold to the church the large numbers that had already been brought in by the Centenary Campaign. Then too, unfortunately, Centenary funds from America began to fall off in amount. In December, 1922, funds to be used for the evangelistic campaign and the conservation work in 1923 were reduced to one-half the amount that had been used in 1922.⁴

Because of this shortage of funds, the district preaching bands had to be discontinued. However, one band was formed to work in the entire territory of the mission, spending a month or two in each district. Under the leadership of Yu Han Ik, a former public official who possessed the wit and eloquence to get a hearing from any audience, new

¹ *Minutes Korea Mission*, 1921, p. 33.

² *Ibid.*, 1922, pp. 64-69.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

believers were enrolled and new groups organized in each district.

Some idea of the way the preaching band carried on its work may be had from a description of a night with the band in a non-Christian village written by a missionary at the time: "The tent was being erected when we arrived. The spot was well selected, as there was just enough slope to enable the audience to see the speaker to the best advantage. The grass, too, was so thick and dry as to make it unnecessary to spread mats for the people to sit on. When we arrived at the tent after supper a good crowd had already assembled and a little later we counted on the men's side of the curtain twenty rows averaging ten to the row and the women's side seemed equally crowded.

"Four hundred and hardly a one had heard a gospel message until a member of the band spoke the night before in the open air in advance of the arrival of the tent. These people had worked hard all day, and, after washing the soil of toil from their faces and hands and eating a hurried supper were eager for the message that this band of Christian workers would bring."¹

The interest in this meeting and the favorable attitude toward it were due in part to the influence of four young men who had gone away to school and had become Christians. One was the son of the village schoolmaster who was attending a school in Seoul, where he had become a Christian. Hearing that the preaching band was going to visit his village, he had returned home for the event, and his father had decided the night before to become a Christian. The most prominent man in the village said to the visiting missionary, "I have three sons in your school in Songdo. All are Christians and they never cease urging me to become a true believer." The father was now ready to announce his faith in Christ.

The program rendered by this preaching band was long and varied. It included songs, music on a portable organ,

¹ *Missionary Voice*, March, 1923, p. 77.

cornets and violin, stereopticon pictures, and a sermon. One of the songs was a story of the crucifixion sung very reverently to the tune of "Coming through the Rye." The sermon on this occasion lasted an hour and ten minutes, and covered the subjects of sin, salvation, and the fruits of righteousness. At the close of the meeting, between thirty and forty new believers were enrolled; this number did not include the sixty school boys whom the teacher said need not be enrolled that night, as he would take their names the next day!

One of the objectives of the Centenary advance was to bring every church that was in existence in 1920 to self-support within a period of four years. By self-support was meant the support of the preacher and the local expenses of the church.

Toward this end, in 1920-1921 stewardship conferences were held in each district for the preachers and the leading laymen. These men were addressed by Hon. T. H. Yun and the three Centenary secretaries. The principles of Christian stewardship were stressed. The Christians entered enthusiastically into the effort to achieve self-support. The stronger charges were to support their own pastors and then contribute to the support of the pastors of the weaker charges.

Besides the assessments for that purpose, various other schemes were put into operation for securing money for the Conference Board of Missions to use in helping the weaker charges.¹ The third Sunday in each month was set aside as Conference Missions Sunday and a special offering was made in each church on that day. Mite boxes were distributed to the homes of the people to be used in securing additional funds for the cause. The third Sunday in November was celebrated as Conference Thanksgiving Day, and an offering was received in every church from each member, either in produce or in money. Two-thirds of the offering was to go to the Conference Board of Missions and one third to be

¹ *Minutes Korea Mission*, 1921, pp. 49-50.

retained by the local church for the upkeep of the church and parsonage. At Christmas another special offering was taken in every congregation, one half to be used by the local church for helping the poor and one half to be forwarded to the Conference Board for the benefit of the weaker charges.

In 1923-1924 the Songdo district became entirely self-supporting,¹ and a year later the Songdo North District reached the same goal. At the annual meeting in September, 1924, Rev. J. S. Ryang, the Conference Centenary Secretary, reported that 70.6 per cent of the salaries of the seventy-nine preachers-in-charge in the Conference had been paid by the Korean church, leaving 29.4 per cent to be paid out of mission funds from America. The contribution of the Korean church for the support of its ministry had increased from *yen* 5,583.21 in 1919 to *yen* 30,418.16 in 1924, an increase of 444 per cent in five years.²

This advance was not achieved without sacrificial giving on the part of church members and heroism on the part of the preachers. For instance, shortly after the chairmen of the boards of stewards and the pastors of the Songdo District had decided to maintain all the pastors with funds raised within the district, the city of Songdo and its vicinity were visited by the most disastrous floods within the memory of the oldest citizens.

"More than three thousand houses within the city alone were flooded, and among these a large number were totally or partially destroyed. The damage to growing crops and farm lands was far more serious. Not only were growing crops destroyed, but many fields and irrigation systems were made permanently useless. Under such changed conditions one could but feel that the question of district self-support for the coming year was seriously jeopardized.

"A meeting of the preachers was called in order to prepare statistics for Annual Conference. At this meeting the presiding elder raised the question whether or not it would

¹ *Minutes Korea Mission*, 1923, p. 102; 1924, p. 50.

² *Ibid.*, 1924, p. 56.

be necessary, in view of the floods, to re-open the question of self-support for the next Conference year and make application to the Conference Mission Board for aid. The preachers whose support was at stake were asked to express themselves. The first man to speak was from the circuit that had suffered worst. He said that three of his strongest churches had been brought to absolute destitution and that the others had all suffered to a less degree. Still he was not in favor of a backward step. He said if his people had food they would share it with him. They could not escape their distress; why should he seek an easy and safe way for himself? He preferred to let matters stand as they were and bear the lot that his churches must bear. And so said the others. Not a man whined or would ask for mission subsidy, though certain that their case would appeal for sympathy if presented.

“Back of this spirit on the part of the preachers was like temper on the part of the people. We may be sure that our work is on a substantial basis when in such a crisis our preachers and people are not discouraged or shaken.”¹

Before the Centenary, mission funds, as a general rule, had not been used in the erection of church buildings in the country places. In accordance with the Nevius method of encouraging self-reliance, the policy had been for the Christians to meet in the private home of one of their number until they were able to provide for themselves a church building for their services. In the cities an exception to this rule had been made, and mission funds had been used for the erection of churches, on the ground that it was desirable to have churches not inferior in appearance to the schools, hospitals, and residences of the mission and the other public buildings of the city; and also that the station churches were used not only for their local congregations but as centers of special effort for the entire city and surrounding territory. As the local congregations were often unable to erect such buildings, mission funds were used.

During the Centenary advance the policy of the mission in

¹ 1925 *Yearbook Board of Missions*, pp. 109, 110.

regard to country church buildings was modified. Sometimes a building to serve as a temporary meeting place was purchased outright with mission money. To encourage the erection of permanent buildings, Centenary funds were used to assist country congregations. The amount of help given varied according to the type of building and the amount contributed by the local congregation.¹ This assistance from the mission board greatly stimulated the giving of the Koreans. Notwithstanding the fact that mission grants were made only to the churches that had raised a certain percentage of the total cost, the applications for help soon outran the available funds. Partly as a result of this encouragement, the number of church buildings rose from 176 in 1919 to 387 in 1924; during this same period the number of parsonages increased from thirty-eight to seventy-four.

More difficult than the task of enrolling new believers was the problem of holding them to the church, and training them in the Christian life. The great majority of the new believers fell away before they reached the rank of probationer in the church, and of those who became probationers many did not continue their progress toward full membership. This fact becomes all too evident when we note that while approximately 40,000 new believers were enrolled during the five-year period, the net increase in members and probationers was only 6,000.

The leaders of the Centenary campaign were fully aware of this tendency, and made strong efforts to overcome it. Special conservation men were employed in each district to follow up the preaching bands and seek out the new believers to instruct them and help them take their first steps in the Christian life.

In order to provide local leadership for the new groups, from one to four members from each group were gathered into special classes and given from ten to twenty days' training in the doctrines and ways of Christianity, and in the leadership of the local church.² The men thus trained went

¹ *Minutes Korea Mission*, 1921, p. 56.

² *Ibid.*, p. 48; 1922, p. 110.

back to their communities to serve as class-leaders, and stewards, and Sunday school superintendents.

In order to supply pastors for the new circuits that were formed as the result of the many new congregations, special institutes were held in which intensive training for a period of two months was given to men who were then appointed to serve as supply preachers on the new circuits. The first preacher-training institute of this kind was held in Songdo in April and May, 1921.¹ Twenty-two men were prepared in this first class to serve temporarily as preachers in charge of circuits. The next year an institute for the same purpose was conducted at the Theological Seminary in Seoul, and twenty-eight men completed the course.²

While there was, no doubt, an immediate gain in meeting the emergency need for preachers by this short-cut process, in the end two unfortunate effects were seen to result from it. Many of these men were pillars of the church in their own local groups, and their removal was a distinct loss. One of the presiding elders calls attention to this loss in his report for 1923: "It has been necessary, in order to man these new circuits, to draw heavily upon the ranks of class leaders and exhorters — men who had stood the test of persecution and social changes for eight or ten years. We are grateful for these men, but their employment presents not simply the problem of ministerial training, but the loss of their leadership in their local circuits and Quarterly Conferences, necessitating the training of a new leadership for the old groups, to say nothing of the 'Sheep without a shepherd' situation in the large number of new groups."³

Many of the men thus temporarily employed were not qualified to serve permanently as preachers, and when, after a few years, they had to be discontinued, some of them found great difficulty because of the economic stringency in Korea in resuming their former occupations. This was a hardship to them and their families and a discouragement to the church.

¹ *Ibid.*, 1921, p. 48.

² *Ibid.*, 1922, p. 71.

³ *Ibid.*, 1923, pp. 75-76.

In this period great advance was made by the Union Methodist Theological Seminary, the institution for training the regular ministry of the church. The length of the school year was increased from six to nine months; the entrance requirements were raised; the course of study was enriched and the teaching force strengthened. The result was that by 1923-1924 the Seminary was offering a full three-year course of study to graduates of middle schools and colleges. The enrolment for that year was 105. Besides its regular course, the Seminary conducted an annual Preachers Institute for two weeks which was attended by about one hundred of the preachers in the active ministry.

Throughout the Centenary period the characteristic emphasis of the Korean church upon revivals and Bible classes was maintained. Experienced Korean preachers in each district were appointed "Centenary evangelists" and went from church to church holding revivals. The following recommendation of the Evangelistic Committee in 1923 indicates an attitude toward revivals that was continuous and unwavering: "That earnest, persevering, and united prayer be made for a genuine revival, it being recognized that the transformation of the individual is absolutely necessary for the individual and is the most attractive and powerful factor for drawing and holding unbelievers to the church. All human effort and material equipment are useless without the Spirit's power." ¹

Classes for Bible study were held for districts, circuits, and individual churches. A four-year program was outlined for these classes. Correlated with the work of the classes, a home study course was outlined which began with Genesis and covered the whole Bible. Certificates of credit were given for the work done. The report of the Committee on Home Bible Study declares, "We believe after conversion, Bible study to be the most essential element in Christian life and service. We feel that every Christian should be familiar with the whole Bible." ²

¹ *Minutes Korea Mission*, 1923, p. 82.

² *Ibid.*, p. 117.

The net gain in members and probationers continued to be gratifyingly large throughout the period, but, in spite of the conservation efforts just described on the part of the evangelistic workers, great numbers continued to pass through the net of the church without being caught. The situation succinctly described by the presiding elder of the Songdo District in his report for 1924 is typical of what was taking place throughout the country. He says: "The increase in membership for the year is about $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent over last year. While we received an increase of 14 per cent the loss by removal and other causes was nearly half this increase. The chief source of losses is economic conditions which result in the removal of members or in Sunday work, which divorces the people from the church. It should be noted though that the number of baptized children and probationers amount to 935 and these are regular attendants upon our services and potential members for the future. We also report the number of 1,691 as seekers. This group is hard to define and it is difficult to estimate what their future relations to the church will be. All have at least nominally accepted Christianity. However, their understanding of its meaning and the depth of their purpose have not been sufficient to warrant their names being entered upon the roll of probationers. They form an inviting field for labor and without doubt abiding fruit will be produced from among the number, but it is impossible to determine even approximately what the percentage will be." ¹

In the conservation work, the main reliance was placed upon Bible study and revivals. The church's failure to hold more than one in seven of those who enrolled as believers raises a question as to the adequacy of these agencies. Was the failure due to lack of earnestness and skill in the promotion of Bible study and revivals, or did the situation call for additional agencies and methods? This question will be raised again in the study of the next period.

¹ *Ibid.*, 1924, pp. 49-50.

Institutional Work

Centenary funds, providing as they did for land, new buildings, equipment, and increase in budgets, gave a great impetus to the institutional work of the mission.

A hospital was built at Choonchun in 1920, the Wonsan hospital was remodelled and enlarged in 1923, and two missionary doctors and two nurses arrived on the field in 1921, and another nurse in 1923.

The objectives of the mission medical work were declared to be to furnish medical and surgical treatment for the Koreans, to safeguard the health of the missionaries, to train native physicians and nurses, and "to give the gospel message to all who come within the influence of the medical work."¹

The missionary doctor in charge of Ivey Hospital, Songdo, says in his report for 1922: "A step forward has been made in the evangelistic work of the hospital. For years it has been the custom to have one Korean preacher and one Bible-woman employed in the hospital, and in this way many new believers have been added to the church. This year two men and two women have been employed. Each month two work in the hospital while the other two go to the country, following up those who have decided to become Christian while in the hospital. The hospital employees have contributed the funds necessary to make this work possible. The work done and results achieved have been most gratifying. For the months of April, May, and June thirty-eight new believers have been reported and one new group established."² During the next year this follow-up of the hospital evangelists resulted in 328 new believers and the establishment of six new groups.³ A similar type of work was carried on in connection with the mission hospital in Wonsan.⁴

In the educational field, new buildings and equipment and enlarged appropriations together with the reforms in the educational regulations of the government and the awak-

¹ *Minutes Korea Mission*, 1922, p. 112.

² *Ibid.*, p. 89. ³ *Ibid.*, 1923, p. 107.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

ened spirit of the Korean people which has been described, resulted in a large influx of students. The schools begun by the mission in the preceding periods were continued and enlarged. By 1923 the attendance was three or four times as great as it had been prior to 1920.

Little one-room schools called *keulpangs* or *sebtangs* played an important part in the growth of the church in this period. From time immemorial in nearly every village in Korea the better-to-do families had maintained a little school where a few of the boys learned to read and write the Chinese characters. It was a simple affair; no separate building was needed. The schoolboys sat on the floor in a room of the teacher's house, and swayed their bodies back and forth as they shouted out the name and translation of the Chinese ideographs, or bent forward while they copied the characters on a paper spread out on the floor. In the hot summer days they would move out to the shade of a large tree. This little school, however, had been the first step in a road that led to scholarship and fame, the official examination in the capital and government position with its attendant enrolments.

The official examination had been discontinued since 1895, but the little *keulpang* still retained its respectability. The church took it over and added to its curriculum simple arithmetic and geography and hygiene and religious instruction. It also established *keulpangs* for girls as well as boys.

This little school now became the first step in a new educational system which might lead to a better goal than the old system had ever found. At any rate, the people were eager for their children to try this new way. Earnest students in the mission high schools were encouraged to drop out of school for a year or so to teach in these *keulpangs*. With the funds made available by the Centenary, help was given in paying the salary of the teacher where the local group was unable to provide the entire support of the school. The rule adopted limited the amount of subsidy to one half the salary in the case of a boys' school and to two thirds in a girls' school.¹ The hope of securing aid of this kind undoubtedly

¹ *Ibid.*, 1922, p. 113.

led many villages to take a favorable attitude toward the work of the preaching bands and the organization of a church in their midst. There were many more applications for help than the mission could grant. The number of *keulpangs* increased from 41 in 1920 to 130 in 1924, and the number of pupils grew from 762 to 3,965.

Besides continuing with increased resources the regular educational work for girls in the schools of the mission and the evangelistic work in connection with the churches, the missionaries of the Woman's Section of the Board of Missions began in this period the use of a new agency, the Social Evangelistic Center.

In September, 1920, a magnificent site was purchased in the heart of Seoul at a cost of about \$100,000.00, the largest sum the mission had ever invested in a single enterprise up to this time. The location of the property and the magnitude of the transaction attracted notice. The fact that one of the buildings purchased contained the hall in which on March 1st of the preceding year the famous thirty-three had signed the declaration of independence attracted additional attention; the Korean Christians were delighted that this historic shrine had come into the possession of the church.

From this center various forms of work for women and children were soon under way: foreign sewing and cooking classes, baby clinics, mothers' meetings, playground and bath station for children of the street, union Bible institutes, Y.W.C.A. Two other missions soon joined in the work, the Northern Methodist and the Northern Presbyterian.

The next year, 1922, a similar institution was opened in Songdo in a substantial stone building well located near the center of the city; within a few years Choonchun and Wonsan were also equipped with "centers" for woman's work.

In 1923 a central evangelistic plant was erected in Songdo to be used for various institutional forms of work for young men, and as headquarters for the evangelistic workers of the city and surrounding country.

New Organizations

The first Woman's Missionary Society was organized in Wonsan in December, 1913. By 1920 local societies had been organized in each district; in that year eighty-two delegates from these local groups met in Seoul and organized a Conference society which has met yearly since that date. In 1922 the first president of the Conference society was sent to work among the Koreans in Siberia.

By its study programs and other activities the society has done much to broaden the interests and increase the spiritual devotion of its members. In 1922 the missionary societies instituted a week of prayer, and out of the funds collected at this time from year to year, they have "paid out . . . a modest contribution to the women's work in Africa, a little sum to the Bennett Memorial Building Fund, a small contribution to the Rescue Home of the Salvation Army in Seoul, a few scholarships in the Union Methodist Woman's Bible Training School and a little help to the poor of the city." ¹ Since 1928 they have supported a worker among the Korean women and children in Osaka, Japan. In 1924 there were 203 societies with 2,650 members.

In 1922 a new piece of machinery was set up for dealing with larger questions of mission policy.² At this time there were two separate and mutually independent organizations for making and carrying out plans for the Christian advance. One was the mission, composed of all the missionaries, both men and women, who were under appointment to Korea. It met at least once a year, heard the reports of its members, made plans for the various branches of the mission work (evangelistic, educational, and medical), and passed upon all requests for finances and workers that were made to the board of missions in America. No Korean was a member of the mission. The register of missionaries for that year shows fifty-two names.³

¹ Ryang, *Southern Methodism in Korea*, pp. 152-153.

² *Minutes Korea Mission*, 1922, p. 54.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

The other organization was the Annual Conference which had been set up in 1918 by the action of the General Conference of that year. This body was governed by exactly the same rules that applied to an Annual Conference in America. The roll of the Conference for 1922 contains eighty-two names (including preachers on trial and lay delegates.)¹ Only nineteen of these were missionaries. There were therefore thirty-three missionaries — doctors, nurses, educational workers, and evangelistic workers of the Woman's Department — who had no voice in the proceedings of the Annual Conference.

There was need of some regular agency for coördinating the work of the two bodies and helping them to coöperate more effectively in the attainment of their common purpose. To meet this need a "Council on Policy" was organized, consisting of seven Koreans elected by the Korean members of the Annual Conference and seven missionaries elected by the mission. Its powers and duties were "to promote an intelligent loyalty to the policies of the Conference and mission and seek to improve the same by making suitable recommendations to the Conference, the Conference boards and committees, the mission, and the standing committees of the mission."² This Council met regularly each year before the meeting of the Annual Conference, and was found in experience to be an exceedingly useful agency.

SUMMARY

The phenomenal growth of the church in this period was due to all three of the movements which have been described in this chapter, the Independence Movement, the government reforms, and the Centenary. Each one taken in conjunction with the other two helped to double the number of members and probationers of a church that for nine years had been unable to make any gains at all.

The Independence Movement was an expression and a reinforcement of the ancient faith of the Korean people in

¹ *Journal Korea Conference*, 1922, pp. 9-10.

² *Constitution, Council on Policy* (in manuscript).

the efficacy of moral and religious forces. It acted as a strong stimulant to the idealism of non-Christian and Christian alike. It lifted the people out of their lethargy and semi-despair, turned their attention for the time being away from their economic troubles, and set them with kindled imagination and new courage questing for a more satisfying life. The prominent part taken by Christians in the Movement won the respect of all, and turned the eyes of many toward the church as a possible leader in the search for the better life. The outstanding rôle played by students and young people in carrying on the Independence Movement won for the younger generation a new position of influence in Korean society, thus reversing the old Confucian order which placed all leadership in the hands of the elders.

The government reforms, beginning as they did within a few months of the outbreak of the Independence Movement and before its early enthusiasm had had time to change to disillusionment or despair, confirmed and reinforced the faith from which it had arisen and the attitudes it had evoked.

Then came the Centenary, marvelously timed. Plans for the Centenary Forward Movement had been maturing in America and in Korea since 1917, but it was not until the latter part of 1919 that funds for the advance began to reach the field. Bishop Walter R. Lambuth, who was to preside over the Korea Conference until his death in 1922, and Baron Makoto Saito, the Governor-General who was to inaugurate the new régime in the government, arrived in Korea on the same day of September, 1919. On the train en route to the capital the Governor-General invited the Bishop into his private car for an interview. The Centenary was just in time with its leader, its matured plans, and its money to take its cue and perform its part on the stage arranged by the Independence Movement and the new political reforms.

The Centenary plans and resources stimulated the already quickened hopes and imaginations of the people. The changes in the government regulations facilitated the evangelistic campaigns and the educational advance which the Centenary

funds made possible. The young people of Korea were most responsive. They used their new freedom and their new influence to swell the ranks of the Christian forces.

The magnificent growth of 102 per cent in five years is a notable achievement, and it is understandable in the light of the conditions that have been described. However, this rapid growth should not be allowed to conceal another circumstance which has not been explained, namely, the fact that only about one in seven of the multitudes who enrolled as new believers continued their connection with the church. Why did the other six, having entered within the gates of the church, turn away without entering the inner sanctuary?

It is not sufficient to ascribe their falling away to some fickleness in the new believers themselves, because there is no evidence that such was the case, and, more important still, because the church claims to be the custodian of a power that transforms wave-like Simons into rock-like Peters. As an institution that mediates a gospel able to save all men, the church cannot be content to lose so many prospects. Without discounting the splendid work that was done during this period, we may say either that the church had not mastered the art of really serving all who came to her gates, or that she was unable to make clear and winsome the nature and importance of the service she was prepared to render.

CHAPTER VI

SECOND PERIOD OF ARRESTED GROWTH

THE period of church growth which began in 1920 came to an end in 1924. During 1925 the church was almost at a standstill numerically, the loss that year in members and probationers in the Southern Methodist Church being less than one per cent. But this was the beginning of a period of marked decline. By 1928 the total had gone down from 11,875 to 8,631, a loss of over twenty-seven per cent for the four years. What had stopped the advance of the church in Korea and caused it to sustain such a loss?

In December, 1925, a group of sixty outstanding leaders of the Christian movement in Korea from all parts of the country representing all denominations and forms of work, met in Seoul for a conference with Dr. John R. Mott. As Chairman of the International Missionary Council, Dr. Mott was visiting the mission fields preparatory to the meeting of the Council at Jerusalem in 1928.

To the group gathered in Seoul, Dr. Mott propounded the question, "What problems confront you in Korea on which you would like to have brought to bear the experience of the Christians of the world?" This question evoked spontaneous and illuminating statements about the problems actually confronting the Christian movement in Korea. As the meeting was carried on in the Korean tongue, with Hon. T. H. Yun presiding, the native church leaders felt particularly free to express their convictions. There was intense interest and concentration and deep sincerity manifested throughout the conference which lasted for two full days.

Among the problems referred to during the conference there were two that stood out above all others and were mentioned again and again. An increasing economic strain was being felt by Koreans generally which handicapped all phases of the church's activity. Among the young people of the church there was reported to be a growing restlessness and a discontent and impatience with the ways of the church.

The burdens and bafflement of the Christian leaders seemed to be due in the main to one or the other of these two facts.

These leaders were also experiencing increasing difficulty in stating convincingly the mission of the church. Miss Helen Kim, who later went as a delegate to the Jerusalem meeting, referred to the differences between fundamentalists and modernists, and said, "What is the central thing in Christianity, the heart of the message? This, I hope, the Council will find and state."¹ Others raised the question as to exactly what was included in the "salvation" preached by the church.

Perhaps in those subjects which commanded the attention of Christian leaders at the conference of 1925 may be found a clue to the church's decline in this period. An investigation of the conditions which brought the economic factor to the fore in the life of the church, which made the young people of the church restless and discontented, and which made it difficult to define the mission of the church and to state convincingly the message of the Christian religion, will, if successful, explain the failure of the church to grow.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

In these years no one could be in Korea long without discovering that the Korean people were acutely conscious of being under a terrific economic strain. Dr. Edmund de Schweinitz Brunner, who visited Korea in 1927 and made a careful study of conditions for the International Missionary Council, reported: "The present economic depression in Korea is the most engrossing topic of conversation wherever the farmers gather. It is constantly discussed in the public press. It puzzles government officials and is causing most of the missionaries deep anxiety."²

Influence of Government

The Japanese régime has energetically sought to develop the resources of the country. It has brought to this task high

¹ Manuscript notes by A. W. Wasson, Secretary of the Conference.

² "Rural Korea: a Preliminary Survey of Economic, Social, and Religious Conditions," *Complete Report of the Jerusalem Meeting International Missionary Council*, 1928, Vol. VI, 95.

administrative ability and modern technology, and has to its credit great accomplishments in building roads, improving harbors, standardizing weights and measures, increasing the acreage and the yield of the cultivated land by irrigation and improved methods of farming, and in numerous other expedients for developing the material resources of the land. In reporting conditions which he found on his trip to Korea in 1926, the third visit which he had made to that field as Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, Dr. Robert E. Speer says: "There can be no doubt that Japan has sought and is seeking the economic well-being of the country. It is her interest to do this and it is her duty. And no one can read the Reports on Reform and Progress issued annually by the Governor General or see with one's own eyes the changes which have taken place and not realize that Japan is eagerly seeking the prosperity and happiness of Chosen for the sake both of the Koreans themselves and of the Empire as a whole."¹

All this may be freely admitted, and yet the people of Korea generally are suffering from a sense of poverty greater than they have ever known before; many families are suffering from actual want more acute than any their oldest members can recall.

Causes of Economic Strain

The causes of this profound economic depression are many and involved. Korea is an agricultural land, and shares in the distress that has come to the farmers of the world in recent years. According to the census of 1925, 80.3 per cent of the Koreans are dependent upon farming for a livelihood. For some time the land has been slipping out of the hands of the farmers who cultivate it. The number of tenants has increased, and the number of owner-cultivators has decreased. In 1926, 43.8 per cent of the farmers owned none of the land they worked, and another 32 per cent owned only a part.²

¹ Robert E. Speer and Hugh T. Kerr, *Report on Japan and China*, p. 52.

² Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

The lot of the tenant is extremely hard. He tills on the average only three acres, of which about half is paddy-field for rice. The legal division of crops between landlord and tenant is fifty-fifty. The tenant supplies all the labor and usually all seeds and fertilizer, and pays the taxes as well. An investigation in one district showed that the renter's net share was only 17 per cent of the returns from the land he cultivated.¹ The majority of the farmers have debts on which they are paying interest ranging from 12 to 48 per cent.² A survey of one province (Hwanghai) in 1928 showed that the indebtedness of the people of the province amounted to an average of *yen* 95.88 for each family.³

Not only is Korea suffering from the world-wide agricultural depression, but her domestic industries have been almost destroyed by the competition of imported factory-made products. A generation ago the Korean people made practically everything they used out of native materials by hand or in small establishments with simple machinery. In this way they produced cloth, implements, dishes, writing-materials, oil for lamps, dye-stuffs, etc. As these native products have been displaced by imported ones, the soil has had to yield a surplus above what was consumed in the country in order to pay for the imported goods. The development of manufacturing along modern lines has begun in Korea. In 1925 there were 3,600 factories and workshops employing about 73,000 individuals.⁴ Modern manufacturing will no doubt continue to develop, but so far it has not brought appreciable relief to the Korean people as a whole.

The load which the soil has to carry is made still heavier by the growth in population. Between 1910 and 1925 the increase was about 41 per cent.⁵

The Korean's ever-present and painful consciousness of poverty arises partly from the fact that a people accustomed to a simpler form of living have been brought within range of

¹ Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 106. ² *Ibid.*, pp. 110-111.

³ *Journal Korea Conference*, 1928, p. 49.

⁴ *Annual Report on Administration of Chosen*, 1924-26, p. 87.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

the allurements of the manifold forms of modern civilization, and at the same time are prevented by their poverty from any satisfactory participation in it. In its milder aspects the situation is that of the girl in front of a show window who is unhappy because she cannot afford the beautiful clothes that are on display. In its more poignant aspects it is the anguish of an intelligent and devoted parent who knows of the food or medicine or educational opportunities which his child needs, but, on account of inescapable poverty, is unable to provide them.

In many instances the Korean's land has been mortgaged, the mortgage foreclosed, and the hereditary patrimony lost beyond the possibility of recovery. Sometimes this situation is the result of improvident spending. Surely the people have been sorely tempted to spend beyond their means. Modern business has made extensive use of advertising in handbills, daily papers, and periodicals to create a demand for hitherto unused articles. Sometimes the Korean has lost out in competition with a Chinese laborer or a Japanese merchant. Again he has been the victim of sharp practices.¹

The prevailing bitterness is increased by the widespread conviction among the Koreans that they have been exploited. The Korean farmers who raise a bumper crop, as they did in 1927, and are forced to sell it at prices that leave them no profit at all, only to see the price rise again in a short time, are strongly of the opinion that this does not happen as the automatic working of some economic law. Their peace of mind is not increased by the knowledge that their good rice has been shipped to Japan while they themselves will have to live for the rest of the year on the cheaper millet imported from Manchuria.² Not only is the government in the hands of the Japanese, but also for the most part the banks, the transportation system, and the large business corporations are under their control. Under such conditions far-reaching exploitation might easily exist without any departure on the

¹ Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

² *British and Foreign Bible Society*, 1927, p. 255.

part of the Japanese from the accepted standards of our modern acquisitive society.

Effect on Christians

On Sundays the Christians found no relief from the economic pressure which had been bearing down upon them in common with the other Koreans during the week. In addition to the regular Sunday collections there were the many special offerings which had been devised during the Centenary to bring the whole church to self-support, and which were still continued.

To make matters still more difficult, there began in 1924 a sharp reduction in the funds appropriated to Korea by the mission board in America, a reduction which continued until it reached its lowest point in 1926. For four years (1920-1923) the appropriation for all purposes (except for the Woman's Section) was, in round numbers, \$270,000.00 annually. In 1924 the amount dropped to \$173,000.00; in 1925 it was \$136,000.00; and in 1926 it was \$115,000.00. And half the appropriation for 1926 was for the salaries and travel of the missionaries, and for rent, taxes, and insurance on mission property. This decided decrease in mission appropriations necessitated the reduction of personnel and other economies in mission schools and hospitals, and the withdrawal or reduction of subsidies that had been given to church schools and building enterprises. This action, of course, placed additional financial burdens upon already overburdened congregations. The total contributions of the Koreans in 1925 were *yen* 120,723.95, an average of *yen* 10.25 for each member and probationer of the Southern Methodist Church. This was no small sum in view of the poverty of the people. As the average annual income for a family (which often includes two or more church members) ranges between *yen* 201.60 and *yen* 340,¹ the contribution to the church was about a tenth of the total income of its members and probationers.

¹ Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

In addition to the support of the church organization, the mission had taught other duties and awakened other desires which called for money. It emphasized the duty of educating the children, girls as well as boys. In its hygiene talks given in connection with the Bible classes and in the baby clinics many simple lessons had been taught as scientific truths and as Christian duties, such as the importance of proper care of the baby and mother, of protecting food from the swarms of flies, and of guarding against the mosquitoes which carry malaria. But milk for the children and screening and mosquito nets were an additional expense which most of the people could not afford.

Concerning the difficulty of keeping the Sabbath, the Chairman of the Federal Council in reviewing the year 1930 said: "Men often have to choose between working seven days a week and loafing seven days a week. Which half of the Fourth Commandment shall they keep if they cannot keep it all? The Korean church has required and obtained a much stricter observance of the Sabbath than exists in many mission fields. One wonders sometimes if we have attempted to bind too heavy a burden on our brethren for there is a tendency to lower the standard. On the other hand, unless the first generations are willing to make sacrifices for the priceless boon of the Sabbath when will they be able to influence the nation to one day's rest in seven? If there were a Sunday rest in trade and manufacture, church attendance would be largely increased from among those in industrial bondage."¹

Concerning the adverse effects of the economic conditions upon the church, the agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society wrote in 1928: "Notwithstanding the increased volume of trade and the comparatively large sums of money spent by the government and various development companies, the Korean people as a whole are depressed by the economic conditions. This feeling of helplessness is reflected in the church. The buoyancy of hope is missing. The Christians find it difficult to maintain their present under-

¹ *Korea Mission Field*, January, 1931, p. 13.

takings, and have no desire or ambition to assume obligations for new aggressive endeavors.”¹

Describing the condition of the evangelistic work in his territory in 1926, one missionary wrote: “This section is called the granary of Korea and was once filled with farmers in comfortable circumstances. Dire poverty was almost unknown and the fight for a livelihood was so easy that it developed a people of an easy-going character. Now this is all changed. The farm lands have passed into other hands. Other means of earning a livelihood have not been developed and as a result within ten years this whole section has passed from a well-to-do community to one of real and pressing poverty. It is easy to see how this reacts on the church, especially when in the past so many of the native leaders have unwisely preached a message of prosperity following faith.”²

In April, 1929, the same missionary tells how a church of tenant farmers had been broken up by the scattering of its members when the land they cultivated was taken away from them.³

Clearly the church was severely handicapped in its activities and its growth by the economic conditions, and in some localities its very life was threatened.

THE WORLD OF THE YOUNG PEOPLE

Changed Mood and Rôle

In the preceding period the young people of Korea were still imbued with the spirit of the Independence Movement. The young people of the church were active leaders in the Centenary advance, and the student class formed the most accessible group from which to win new converts. In this period, the young people were in an entirely different mood and rôle. Instead of being hopeful and courageous leaders of a crusade for a better world, they had become embittered and critical spectators of conditions for whose existence they

¹ *British and Foreign Bible Society, Annual Report*, 1929, p. 152.

² *Korea Mission Field*, December, 1926, p. 248. ³ *Ibid.*, April, 1929, p. 70.

were not responsible but of which they were the conscious victims.

The representative leaders assembled in Seoul for the conference with Dr. Mott in December, 1925, say in their findings:

"In the minds of those in closest touch with the rising generation in Korea today there is little doubt that there is a spirit of unrest which in part is manifesting itself in an attitude of antagonism to the church and criticism of the existing religious order. This attitude is in evidence among the student class and the unemployed, especially in the larger cities in which in a few instances it has become outspoken. . . .

"Even among those sympathetic to the church there is a feeling that the program of the church should be enlarged, its educational program rendered more practical, and its ministry more effective to meet the intellectual and spiritual needs of the younger generation and to lead them in their legitimate aspirations. . . .

"There is a shifting of interest on the part of many of the young people as evidenced by their absence from Sunday school and Bible study classes and by their questioning of all moral standards. There is manifest especially among the young people a discouragement which in many cases amounts to despair. In comparison with the conditions of ten or fifteen years ago the present may be looked upon as a time of spiritual uncertainties in the church in Korea." ¹

This restlessness and discontent and uncertainty grew much more pronounced in the next few years, and active opposition to Christianity was carried on by groups of young people who would sometimes interrupt a sermon and launch into a tirade against the faith.²

Educational Situation

One cause of the change in the younger generation's attitude is to be found in the educational situation. A look at

¹ *Conference of Representative Christian Leaders of Korea*, Seoul, December 28-29, 1925, pp. 2, 3, 7.

² J. E. Fisher, *Democracy and Mission Education in Korea*, Chapter VIII.

the Songdo School (formerly the Anglo-Korean School) will make clear some significant changes that were taking place in the Christian schools. The rapid growth in the student body of this school — from 472 in 1919 to 1,781 in 1924 — called for a corresponding increase in the number of teachers. But the number of teachers with the technical educational qualifications required by the government, and also genuine Christian faith, was not sufficient to meet the demand. Unavoidably then, men with no vital connection with the church and no real appreciation of Christianity were employed, and thus the Christian tone and influence of the school were lowered. In 1922 all the students in the four highest grades of the school classified themselves as Christian, although more than half of them were from non-Christian homes.¹ But with the change in the character of the faculty and the increase in the size of the student body, the school lost its power to assimilate the new students. In 1924 discontented students petitioned for the dismissal of several teachers, and, failing to obtain their request, went on a general strike which disrupted the work of the school and resulted in the expulsion of thirty-seven students.²

This strike was symptomatic of conditions throughout the country. There were strikes in at least fifteen schools, government and private, during that year.³ The dissatisfaction was not simply with conditions within the particular schools; it was with the whole educational system. Graduates of higher common schools who had matriculated with great hopes and whose parents had in many cases gone in debt to pay their school expenses, now found themselves unable to find a position.

Those who wished to continue their education and could afford the expense found that admission to the higher educational institutions of the government was restricted to a relatively small number who were selected by a competitive examination given in the Japanese language. There were

¹ *Minutes Korea Mission*, 1922, p. 75.

² *Ibid.*, 1924, pp. 98-99. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

always several times as many applicants as could be admitted. The dissatisfaction of the rejected Korean applicant was increased by the fact that most of the successful candidates were Japanese who had the advantage of taking the examinations in their native language. According to government statistics the total number of students in the government Colleges of Law, Medicine, Technology, Commerce, and Agriculture in 1927 was 709 Japanese and 382 Koreans, while the population of the country for the preceding year was 442,326 Japanese and 18,615,033 Koreans.

Attacks Upon Christianity

The educational situation was conducive to religious skepticism as well as restless discontent. In the government schools the separation of religion and education, the teaching of modern science, and the critical attitude of the teachers tended strongly to undermine formerly unquestioned religious beliefs, whether Christian or non-Christian. In the mission schools the same tendency appeared in a somewhat milder form.

This attrition of religious beliefs was stimulated by much of the literature in Japanese now being read in great quantities, and by returned students from Japan, China, and Europe. Anti-Religion and anti-Christian movements in China and Russia spread to Korea. The doctrines of Christianity were represented as being in conflict with the teachings of modern science and an obstacle to the enlightenment of the people. The church was opposed as the ally and tool of the exploiting nations and classes of the West.

Sometimes the opposition became more fundamental and attacked not simply the intellectual beliefs and practices of Christians but the Christian ideal of life which up to this period had been admired by all classes. Cynical references to both the Confucian and the Christian ideals of conduct became more frequent. The following sentences are translated from a poem on "A Religion of Convenience" which appeared in a Korean magazine about this time:

"Be not modest, complaisant, and humble. Those who practise these things will appear lowly and modern society will not recognize their existence.

"Unhappy are the pure in heart! Although they may see God, society which is pure as muddy water will surely scold at them, look askance at them, and hate them. To conform to the way of the world is better than to keep aloof in lonely purity.

"Now the axe lieth at the root of the trees: every nation therefore that has not power is hewn down and cast away. Even though you may have to swerve a little from the teaching of Christ, cultivate power. Where there is no power the kingdom of heaven cannot be established.

"Foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests, but the sons of men have no place to sleep unless they labor hard. Before inclining your ears to the church bell, get rice. Man can live only when he has plenty of rice."¹

During the Independence Movement and the years immediately following it, translations of the writings of Tolstoi were read by the young intelligentsia, and admiring allusions to him were frequently found in the magazine articles. Now, familiarity with Marx and Lenin and Nietzsche became the badge of up-to-dateness, and references to their doctrines frequently appear.

Very few of the Korean preachers or missionaries were equipped to deal adequately with these assaults upon the faith of the young people.

Social Problems

The church was slow, too, in ministering to the social needs of the young people. The older members of the church had grown up when the seclusion of woman was still enforced, a strict separation of the sexes was recognized as the only respectable custom, and marriages were arranged by the parents. Their children were imbued with new ideas of freedom and demanded the right of association with mem-

¹ *Tongmyeng*, Vol. I, No. 14.

bers of the opposite sex. The missionaries were inclined to insist first upon the observance of good Korean custom, and, failing to secure that, they would insist upon the observance of good Western custom. In either case, "good custom" meant, of course, the rules of propriety which had been accepted as standard during the youth of the older generation. What was pronounced by the missionary as "proper according to American custom" naturally varied somewhat, depending upon the conditions under which the particular missionary had lived in America five or thirty years ago. Unfortunately, neither the variable American code nor the rigid Korean code suited the present transitional period in which Korean young people have to live.

Many of the high school boys were already married to uneducated girls. There were five times as many boys as girls in school. Practically all of the girls in school were unmarried. Sometimes a church choir would be composed of young married men and unmarried school girls of about the same age. A mixed choir of any kind was already a violation of old Korean custom, and here was a situation which Western rules of propriety had not anticipated.

Speaking of the need of proper meeting places for the young people, an experienced missionary teacher in a girls' school said: "We tell them that no girl should ever receive a man in her bedroom, but almost every Korean room is a bedroom and if there is no other place available, what is she to do? Dormitories must provide more social rooms, preferably those that open into each other, where girls can receive their friends under chaperonage and in wholesome surroundings. Girls often visit their boy friends in their lodgings and pretend injured innocence when questioned. We cannot prevent these things if we do not offer better facilities for the young people to meet."¹

Not only in regard to the relation of the sexes, but in many other matters, great and small, the young people were in a vortex of diverse cultures. In their reading and often in

¹ *Korea Mission Field*, January, 1926, p. 14.

their personal relations, they came in contact with conflicting beliefs and customs from Japan, China, Russia, America, Europe, and old Korea. Their own parents had grown up in a world made orderly by age-old precedents. They themselves were in a world without established usages in dress or courtship or manners, and without any unquestioned code of conduct or philosophy of life.

All too often the young people failed to find within the church convincing guidance, or practical provision for their social needs, or adequate defense for their sorely beset faith. The church leaders themselves were bewildered and hesitant. In their solicitude for the values in the old customs and the old statements they were sometimes more critical than helpful in dealing with the problems of the young people.

THE CHURCH AND SOCIETY

The people who had come into the church in such numbers in the preceding period were not gross materialists. Their hearts thrilled to all the splendid things included in the conception of the Kingdom of God which had been proclaimed by the church. They attended the church and tried to follow its teachings, but the doors to the kind of life for which their hearts longed, and which the church pronounced to be good, were barred to them by poverty in the presence of which their prayers and their church activities seemed impotent. Young men who had seen much of the world, who had been to Japan or Europe or Russia, were saying that the church which its members were making such sacrifices to support was a parasite upon society that received and consumed, but gave nothing in return.

Thus both the attacks of its enemies and the disappointment of its members had to do with the question of the church's relation to social conditions.

Two Contradictory Conceptions

Within the church itself in the course of its history two contradictory conceptions of its relation to society had

appeared and were still current to a greater or less degree among its members. One view held in effect that the church has no concern with social conditions; the other was that the church is the saviour of society.

The view that the church has no concern with social conditions was advanced by a few missionaries who held pre-millenarian beliefs. It gained considerable currency among the Korean Christians during the nine lean years that make up the third period, 1910-1919. When the outlook of the church and of the nation became more hopeful in the second period of rapid growth, 1920-1924, this view dropped into comparative obscurity. But it had placed weapons in the hands of those who in the present period brought against the church the charge of extreme-other-worldliness.

The contrary view, namely, that the church would save society, was the one held by the great majority of Christians. Many of them had been first drawn to the church by the preaching of this doctrine. But when the hard conditions of living did not improve, they began to sense an inconsistency between the doctrine, as they had understood it, and the facts of their experience.

Injurious Effects

Vague exaggerations, that up to this time had gone unchallenged, of the church's power to transform social conditions became in this period an embarrassment. One type of exaggeration was that which ascribed to the church some sort of magical potency for curing the ills of society. There was, for example, the notion that a certain religious experience will solve all problems. A missionary engaged in educational work said in his report to the annual meeting in 1904, "All our teaching must aim at one goal . . . a saving knowledge of Jesus Christ. . . . This experimental knowledge is the knowledge that the Korean needs. If he possesses it and it possesses him, it solves all questions for time and eternity."¹ The bad effects of this over-statement did not

¹ *Minutes Korea Mission*, 1904, p. 34.

appear at once, but in the course of time, it injured the Christian movement in two ways. It prevented the church from properly analyzing its task, particularly its educational task, and it exposed its members to failure and disappointment in so far as they attempted to substitute a religious experience for the proper technique in dealing with the problems of everyday life as business, health, and education.

Another idea of this sort was that the establishment of the church would save the nation. Building up the church was regarded as a patriotic method of bringing about divine intervention. If the people joined the church, God would in return save the nation. This view formed the background of much of the preaching in the revolutionary period, 1905-1910. A favorite text was "Righteousness exalteth a nation."¹ A large use was made of Old Testament history showing how Jehovah brought prosperity to the Hebrew nation when it was obedient, and national disaster when the people worshipped other gods.

Undoubtedly this view helped the church to capitalize the patriotic fervor of the people in the two revolutionary periods. But in the end it led to disappointment. "The Korean youth are saying that Christianity had failed to give them back their country, so they are turning to Bolshevism and Communism because, as they express it, Jesus Christ is not sufficient for all their needs."²

Still another idea tinged with magic was that keeping the commandments and particularly giving a tithe to the church would bring about prosperity. This thought was especially stressed in the third and fourth periods as a means of increasing the income of the church. It helped temporarily to bring the church to self-support, but when general economic depression overtook the people, the church was placed in the position of having recommended a futile and false technique for obtaining economic security.

The belief that the church has magical potency for im-

¹ Proverbs 14: 34.

² Kate S. Cooper, *Evangelism in Korea* (Nashville, Tenn., 1930), p. 89.

proving society is being gradually displaced. Many of the Korean preachers today would agree with the statement made by one of their number in the Union Theological Seminary in Seoul in 1926 when he said: "The greatest of all superstitions is the belief that God will intervene miraculously, which is mere credulity, and results in inactivity and death. God helps those who help themselves, and faith without works is dead."¹

Still in emphasizing the social mission of the church an exaggerated impression of the ability of the church to change conditions was sometimes conveyed that aroused expectations practically similar to those aroused by the conception of magical potency that has been noted. For instance, in the Centenary advance much stress was laid upon the this-world aspect of the Kingdom of God. A society was pictured in which the will of God would be done, and in which the abundant life — physical, intellectual, and spiritual — which Jesus desires for all men, would be a common privilege. In reality this was the ideal of human living for the attainment of which the church calls upon her members to strive with untiring devotion. But too often the statements of the ideal were taken, even by the preachers themselves, to be a promise that the church would build such a society for its members. This mistaken identification of the church's social ideal with the promise of its realization was responsible for much discouragement and disappointment.

Constant emphasis upon the duty of the church to bring about reform led to a tendency to judge the church solely by its success in changing social conditions. This tendency was damaging, particularly so in view of the meager success that attended the church's efforts to improve economic conditions. The church is still a minority group. It has no specific wisdom or technique for dealing with complicated economic and political situations. Then, too, the total task of building a better society anywhere requires the coöperation of many agencies, some of them world-wide in their

¹ *Korea Mission Field*, July, 1926, p. 150.

scope. The church can keep alive the ideal, but often its realization must wait for the coöperation of other agencies.

It was poor strategy to allow the social emphasis to obscure the important fact that the church has a this-world value to its members other than that of transforming unsatisfactory economic and social conditions. One Korean Christian has expressed this value in the following words:

"To the Koreans the outside circumstances look black enough, but once they get this eternal faith and hope that good will come out of all these evils, that right will make might, . . . their immediate difficulties seem trivial, discouragement vanishes, and life's outlook seems bright to them."¹

A Korean friend who had undergone the hardships of imprisonment on a political charge once told the writer of the death of his cell-mate in prison. When asked how he himself managed to survive, he replied that it was because he was sustained by a faith and hope which his comrade, a non-Christian, did not have. When true to itself, the church does not give opiates to make people submit quietly to conditions that ought not to be tolerated, but it does furnish gas masks that enable individuals to carry on under otherwise stifling conditions.

Assuredly the church should wholeheartedly encourage in every practical way the improvement of existing harmful conditions, but it should not allow these special efforts to obscure its more fundamental social mission — the production of right social attitudes and the encouragement of its members courageously and intelligently to make the best of hard situations from which there is no immediate escape, as well as to strive heroically for the improvement of conditions that are under their control.

At the same time that the power of the church to transform social conditions was being over-emphasized, practical measures for relieving the distress of the farmers were being neglected. This paradox was due in part to the fact that

¹ Cynn, *The Rebirth of Korea*, p. 141.

missionaries were not fitted by training to deal effectively with the farmers' problems. It was due also to the ingrained habit of putting the interest of the church first.

Church-Centered Thinking

The missionary work in Korea was started, and in the main has been directed by men who conceived their task in terms of evangelization and the establishment of the church. Almost against their will, they have been forced to enlarge their task. Every extension of the work to include forms of social service has been defended or justified on the ground of the value of such work to the church. A common attitude was that of the missionary who said: "I came to Korea to use my medical skill as a key to unlock the door for the gospel, but I soon found that I was fumbling at the lock of a door which was already wide open, so I left the medical work and became an evangelist."¹

Practically all the missionaries in Korea in this period would probably have agreed in theory with the statement made by one of their number in 1901, when he said: "Some one has said that philanthropic work should be limited by the possibility of its evangelistic utilization and influence. This is not in accord with the spirit of the aid given to the man who had fallen among thieves."² But the church-centered habit of thinking persisted and there were some who thought that at times it stood in the way of an effective dealing with the most pressing needs of the people. Korean leaders frequently lamented that the energy of the church was consumed in maintaining itself. One missionary wrote: "When the Christianizing of a nation is forgotten in the struggle to build up a self-supporting church, then ecclesiasticism has eclipsed religion."³

SUMMARY

In this period the world-wide agricultural depression, the disappearance of domestic industries, the increase in popu-

¹ Paik, *History of Protestant Missions in Korea*, p. 318. ² Paik, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

³ *Christian Movement in Japan, Korea, and Formosa*, 1923, p. 482.

lation, the tantalizing presence of a higher but unattainable material standard of living, the competition of Japanese merchants and Chinese laborers, improvident spending, and exploitation, intensified the economic pressure upon the Korean people until it filled the whole horizon of their thinking. The Korean Christians were under an even greater strain than the people generally because of the reduction in the appropriations of the mission board in America, the increased cost of maintaining the church, and the higher living standards which they had been taught to observe as matters of Christian duty. The church which they had thought was going to usher in the Kingdom of God was not in itself a solution of their problems, and so far it had afforded little practical guidance.

For the young people, the educational system turned out to be a blind alley leading neither to remunerative employment nor to a satisfactory philosophy of life. Confused by the impact of diverse cultures, embittered by a sense of injustice, and unable to find employment, they were in a mood to listen to the propaganda from abroad which condemned the existing social order and religion of all kinds. The Christian young people were often out of harmony with the views of the older preachers, both on matters of doctrine and on matters of conduct.

The church leaders were divided and confused in their conception of the social function of the church, and were thereby handicapped in defending it against the attacks of its enemies and in leading it to a fulfilment of its mission. Such were the conditions which caused the decline of the church in this period.

CHAPTER VII

AN UPWARD TREND

IN 1928-1929 the Southern Methodist Church in Korea experienced a gain in members and probationers for the first time in four years. This upward trend seems to have been due chiefly to a change in the attitude of the church toward the economic problems of the people.

THE CHURCH ADOPTS A NEW TECHNIQUE

At the 1924 session of the Korea Annual Conference a resolution designating the coming year as a special revival year, and directing the presiding elders to lay plans to this end, was adopted in an impressive manner by the whole Conference kneeling in prayer. The last day in February was set aside as a day of special prayer for the young people.¹

But in spite of special efforts put forth, a year later the Evangelistic Committee was constrained to report, "We realize that the past year cannot be called a year of general revival." The Committee then urged that all workers consecrate themselves afresh to the service of God, and pray daily during the coming year for a mighty revival.²

That same year (1925), Rev. J. S. Ryang, the first and, up to that time, the only Korean presiding elder in the Conference, made a notable report in which, after calling attention to the thousands of Korean people hungry for bread, to the young people who were searching as never before but without success for a better and more abundant life, and to the attacks upon the church which say, "There is no God, the church is a parasite, and religion is a superstition," he strongly urged that definite lines of work be carried on to meet the normal needs of the young people and to help the Korean people "even in a very small degree" in their struggle for bread. Such action, he asserted, would be a better defense against the attacks that were being made upon the church than any argument that could be advanced.³

¹ *Journal Korea Conference*, 1924, p. 34.

² *Minutes Korea Mission*, 1925, p. 29.

³ *Ibid.*, 1925, pp. 129-133.

No definite action was taken upon his recommendations at this time, but within the next few years a significant change gradually took place in the general attitude of the church-people toward their difficulties. Without discarding or discounting the use of prayer, Bible study, and revivals, the church leaders in general began to realize that the solution of the most pressing problems of the people called for something more on the part of the church than the refinement and intensification of these trusted and time-honored means of grace. The search for a panacea began to give way to a search for appropriate specific measures for ameliorating specific troubles. The church leaders, in practical ways, on a new scale, and with a new boldness, began to encourage this method of hastening the coming of the Kingdom.

This cause-and-effect method had, of course, been followed all along by the mission in its use of modern scientific medicine for curing the sick. It was being followed by the Women's Section in the Social Centers which ministered in definite ways to the conscious needs of the women and children. It now became more generally accepted as an approved method of procedure, and was embodied in various lines of work for improving the living conditions in the rural communities.

RURAL WORK

Among the preliminary papers which appeared in 1927 preparatory to the meeting of the International Missionary Council in Jerusalem in 1928, was a careful scientific survey of economic, social, and religious conditions in Korea. This paper by Dr. Edmund de S. Brunner stimulated in the church the scientific approach that was already beginning to be made to the rural problems. From the Jerusalem meeting which he attended as a delegate, Mr. Ryang went to Denmark and made a study of conditions there. Upon returning to Korea he published the results of his studies of the rural question in Denmark in a pamphlet that had a wide circulation.¹ The

¹ *Journal Korea Conference*, 1929, p. 60.

rural question was kept before the church in the columns of the *Christian Messenger*, the organ of all the churches coöperating in the Federal Council.¹ Practical lectures on farm problems were given that year in the district Bible classes.²

In the Chulwon District a Farmers' Union was organized among the Christians, with the presiding elder as chairman. With the assistance of instructors from the Young Men's Christian Association and the agricultural department of the Pyengyang College, a Farmers' Institute was held from December 26, 1928, to January 3, 1929. The program included such subjects as: chicken-raising, bee-keeping, pig-raising, coöperation in buying and selling, soil-testing, seed-selection, fertilizers, Denmark farming, etc. In reporting the Institute, Miss Cordelia Erwin, a missionary who took the initiative in planning it, says: "Announcements went out to all our circuit pastors, inviting the farmers to come into an Eight Day Farmer's Institute. All the plans, announcements, invitations, and atmosphere were about the same as at a big Bible class. The bulk of attendance was Christian, but the others were made to feel just as welcome. They seemed to enjoy it just as much and went away with a much friendlier feeling towards Christianity, while a number of decisions to accept Christ were made at the Sunday service. . . . All the information, every talk was most practicable and helpful. . . . The best of all is the responsive cord we struck in the hearts of our people."³

In his annual report to the Conference in 1929, Mr. Ryang told of the great interest of the people in his lectures on farming in Denmark, and added: "I must report to you that I saw a great spiritual movement which is spreading in the Wonsan District and elsewhere. . . . It is very encouraging to notice that the people in general are looking toward the Christian Church for leadership as they never did before."⁴

Upon the recommendation of the Council on Policy, a Board of Rural Work consisting of twelve members was set

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 52, 54.

³ *Korea Mission Field*, January, 1930, pp. 51, 52.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1929, p. 61.

up by the Conference to forward various lines of rural improvement work.¹ The board of missions in America sent out a new missionary trained for agricultural work, and also sent back to his native land a Korean young man, Mr. P. H. Yu, who had specialized in rural community problems while attending a theological seminary in America.

Significantly enough, in this year, 1929, for the first time in four years, there was a gain in members and probationers. In the next year there was still further gain. In reporting a year of substantial growth in 1930, one of the presiding elders says: ". . . the hope engendered by the rural work program, and the evangelistic campaign may be mentioned as having been the means of encouraging the country congregations."²

This movement for the relief of rural communities was not confined to the Southern Methodist Church. At about the same time, similar work was begun in the other churches. The Y.M.C.A. was very active. Under its leadership twenty ten-day farm schools were held in many places throughout the country between December 3, 1929, and April 10, 1930. The faculty of these schools was made up of eight persons from the Y.M.C.A. and the different missions, who travelled from school to school. These schools dealt in a very practical way with the problems of the farmers. The enrolment in the twenty schools was 4,081. About 85 per cent of these were active farmers; 75 per cent were Christians. In every community the instructors held night meetings open to the public. It was estimated that about 40,000 people were reached in some way through these farm schools.³

One of the missionary instructors in this work reported: "Everywhere we go in Korea the people come out to farmers' meetings in great numbers, anxious to get information on improved farming and, fortunately for the mission enterprise, this idea of better farming has been definitely associated with religion. In some cases churches have appointed agricultural committees and have coöperated in the purchase

¹ *Journal Korea Conference*, pp. 76, 28.

² *Ibid.*, 1930, p. 57.

³ *Korea Mission Field*, June, 1930, pp. 128-129.

of land, with the hope of demonstrating improved methods of agriculture to the members and neighbors." ¹

In the findings of the enlarged meeting of the Korean National Christian Council which was held in Seoul in April, 1929, there is a section on "The Rural Church" which reads in part as follows: "The eagerness of rural church members to take advantage of instruction given for their economic improvement, such as the reclamation of the soil, multiplying the various crops, the selection of seed, and the proper use of fertilizers, and the moral reforms frequently adopted by both Christian and non-Christian, such as pledges against alcohol, gambling and tobacco, indicates that unmeasurable activity lies before the church. In addition to rural instruction carried on in our schools and colleges by men appointed specifically to that work, we would recommend that as far as possible all itinerating evangelists organize institutes on this subject for brief periods of instruction at all control points of their work each year, and that, when possible, expert help be secured to direct the teaching of such gatherings. Instruction in health and sanitation should be prominent at those institutes." ²

In this rural work program the church is directing the Korean farmers to the only method of economic salvation within their reach. It has large promise of improving their material living conditions. An expert leader in rural work estimates that the income from the farms can be doubled in fifteen or twenty years.³ It has still greater promise of enriching the lives of the farmers with the wholesome spiritual values that result from hopeful coöperative effort.

But to avoid disappointment, it should be remembered that the program is one of melioration, and not a panacea. The limitation of any economic program that can be carried out by the Korean church and the Korean farmers alone is illustrated by an experience of the Songdo School that is related in the report of the principal for 1930. A few years

¹ *Ibid.*, January, 1930, p. 2.

² *Ibid.*, September, 1929, p. 185.

³ F. O. Clark, "Farm Schools for Korea," *Korea Mission Field*, January, 1930,

before, the Songdo School had set out several thousand mulberry trees, with the idea of starting sericulture in the near future. In the spring of 1930 the teaching of sericulture was added to the course. Silk worms, hatched from eggs procured from the proper authorities, were fed on mulberry leaves, and the resultant cocoons were then prepared and sold at the local offices. In the words of the principal: "From a teaching standpoint the subject is essential, . . . as many of the young men in after life will have something to do with sericulture. . . . From an economic standpoint sericulture was not carried on profitably by us and not by the farmers this year. On the plea that the carry-over of stock of raw silk is enormous due to decreased consumption in the United States, the price has dropped and the farmer as usual stands the brunt of the loss. A measure of cocoons which formerly brought the farmer ₩ 15, this year brought him about ₩ 3.50. In fact it required mulberry leaves at the market value of ₩ 5.00 to feed silk worms whose cocoons afterwards brought but ₩ 3.50. Korean farmers seem to have similar experiences in raising other crops. . . ." ¹ This experience of the Songdo School is only an illustration of the solidarity of the modern world and of the consequent inability of one group to work out its own complete economic salvation alone.

Still, there is room for tremendous enrichment in the life of the Korean people that may be brought about by the use of scientific methods and diversified farming, and through changes in personal habits and social customs. In promoting this program of melioration, the church demonstrates its own usefulness and thus insures its growth.

THE NEW KOREAN METHODIST CHURCH

Added impetus to the growth apparently initiated by the church's attitude toward the rural problem may be expected from the recent establishment of the Korean Methodist Church, an autonomous body created by the union of the Korea Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

¹ *Minutes Korea Mission*, 1930, pp. 42-43.

Throughout their history in Korea the two Methodist groups have been closely associated. In 1910 they united in ministerial training work, and since that date the preachers of the two churches have been trained together in one union institution. In 1927 the two Annual Conferences in Korea memorialized their respective General Conferences for authority to be united into one Korean Methodist Church.

Favorable action on the memorial was taken by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1928, and by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1930. Five commissioners from each of the two churches in America met with five elected and five coöpted commissioners from each of the Korea Annual Conferences in November, 1930, and completed arrangements for setting up an autonomous church. In accordance with their action, the First General Conference of the Korean Methodist Church met in Seoul, December 2-12, 1930.

The new church is completely autonomous, but it needs and desires the coöperation of the churches in America in the great unfinished task of evangelizing and Christianizing Korea. In order to correlate the work of the Korean Methodist Church and the work of the parent churches in America, there is a Central Council composed of Koreans and missionaries in equal numbers.

The chief officer of the new church is a General Superintendent elected by the General Conference for a term of four years. Rev. J. S. Ryang, an outstanding member of the Southern Methodist Church, was elected to this office. Women have equal rights with men, including the right of ordination. The doctrinal statement, while claiming the evangelical faith as a heritage and glorious possession, declares: "Upon those persons who desire to unite with us as members, we impose no doctrinal test. Our main requirement is loyalty to Jesus Christ and a purpose to follow Him. With us, as with Mr. Wesley in the earliest 'General Rules' of the United Societies, the conditions of membership are moral and spiritual rather than theological. We sanction the fullest liberty of belief for the individual Christian, so long as his

character and his works approve themselves as consistent with true godliness.”¹ The Korean leaders are evangelical in faith, and have a wholesome regard for the heritage of the churches in the West. They have also the courage to try new ways, and the vitality to make adjustments to the conditions of their own day.

The new church has 26,184 members and probationers. It is working in an area of 27,000 square miles with a population of about 5,800,000.² The effect of the new organization upon the growth of the church is a secret which the future still holds.

¹ *Discipline Korean Methodist Church* (mimeographed copy).

² Statement of General Superintendent Ryang.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

WHEN the Southern Methodist Church began work in Korea in 1896, the stability of Korean institutions was being weakened by a twofold attack. One attack was internal. It had its source in the corruption and inefficiency of the government. Contagion from the political corruption infested the whole of life. Since 1392 when a strong leader had seized the throne that was now occupied by his weak descendant, Buddhism had been discredited and Confucianism had been the state religion. So that now a breakdown in the political life lowered the prestige of Confucianism. It weakened also the economic and social fabric of the nation.

The other attack upon the stability of Korean culture came from the outside. Reluctantly and with a divided mind, Korea had come out of her national seclusion. On account of the urgent need for domestic reforms, the ex-Hermit Nation was ill prepared to hold her own in international life. Political pressure and intrigue from Japan, China, and Russia had brought hopeless confusion and entanglement. Within the last two years China had been defeated by Japan and an effort at reform in Korea under Japanese leadership had come to an inglorious end with the murder of the Korean Queen. The King had taken refuge in the Russian legation, and was directing the government from that vantage point when the first Southern Methodist missionary arrived.

Political conditions within Korea continued to be unstable, and Japan and Russia tried to out-maneuver each other for positions of advantage in Korea until the war of 1904-1905 left Japan in virtual control of the country. Five more years of uncertainty as to Korea's political future ended in the annexation in 1910 and the complete loss of national sovereignty.

While political events were taking this course, foreign goods and foreign ideas were coming into the country through many channels, and were gradually disrupting and discrediting the

old ways and habits of the people. Thus it was that the mission began its work with a people who were being torn loose from their ancient moorings by other forces and who were disturbed and discontented.

Some aspects of the missionary enterprise which interacted with this situation in a way favorable to the winning of converts were: the missionary with his personal friendliness reinforced by the prestige of Western culture; the insistence upon personal conduct that in its essential features was approved by the conscience of the people and conformed to the teaching of Korean sages, but which was so far above the common practices of the day that it gave distinction to Christian morality; a conception of God that connected with the highest insights of the saints of old Korea; unceasing and widespread evangelization; the revival with its moral transformations, its emotional satisfactions, and mysterious nearness to unseen powers; the whole-hearted enlistment of the Korean Christians in the enterprise; and help from other missions and fields.

Under these conditions the mission made a rapid start. By 1905 it had 1,208 members and probationers enrolled in 46 local churches. Then came the suspense, the lawlessness, the alarms, and the humiliations of the five-year period under the dual government preceding the annexation. In this period many sought in the church security for their souls and also for their persons and their property. A revolutionary spirit was abroad in the land and many patriotic spirits saw in the church and its schools an agency for reforming society and saving the nation. The political situation and the mood of the people resembled in striking ways the conditions in Palestine when Jesus was the leader of a group of revolutionary spirits. This similarity gave to the pages of the New Testament a contemporary flavor which increased the attractiveness of the preaching and Bible study. Under the conditions of the times the Buddhistic interest in the inner life and the future world, the Confucian interest in the welfare of the state, and the animistic interest in the intervention of

supernatural beings, inclined individuals toward the Christian Church. In five years the church increased 712 per cent.

Then came the nine lean years. The church continued its activities along the same lines as in the preceding period with apparently equal diligence and with a larger force of missionaries, and yet there was decline in the place of growth.

The annexation and the stamping out of the insurgents ended the suspense in regard to the political destiny of the country, and made any further effort for its political deliverance appear futile. Peace and order were restored. Life and property were secure for those who observed the government regulations now issued in great detail. People gradually began to feel more keenly the strain of making a living. Public attention was focussed on two things: getting along with the government, and balancing the family budget.

The Christians had more difficulties than others. There were numerous specific government regulations to which the evangelistic, educational, medical, and literary work of the church and mission had to conform. The Conspiracy Case was generally interpreted as evidence of government hostility to the Christian movement. Minor officials often exhibited an animus against the Christians. The church, instead of being a place of security as it had been in the preceding period, now became a place of exposure to greater risks. The church declined in numbers, the loss for the nine years ending in 1919 being 40 per cent.

Then the revolutionary spirit sprang up again in 1919 in the Independence Movement which was surcharged with religious emotion and which brought the church into prominence and public favor. Within a few months after the outbreak of the Independence Movement, a new Governor-General was appointed to Korea and a program of reforms was inaugurated which gave the church greater freedom for its activities. Changes in the government educational system opened a vista of hope to the youth of Korea which was a strong tonic to their spirits.

For two years the church had been making plans for an advance movement in celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the organization of the Methodist Missionary Society in America. Just at this time funds in an unprecedented amount became available for the Centenary advance. The whole church in Korea was enlisted in an aggressive campaign to win new believers. New churches and parsonages were built. Schools and hospitals were enlarged and provided with better facilities. A small subsidy was given to many little schools which were conducted in connection with the country churches. These activities favored by the mental attitudes resulting from the Independence Movement and the government reforms resulted in another period of phenomenal growth. The number of members and probationers of the Southern Methodist Church in Korea increased from 5,877 in 1919 to 11,875 in 1924, a growth of 102 per cent.

By this time the students and recent graduates of both government and church schools were becoming restless. The educational course had not fulfilled their expectations. The schools did not teach the secret of a satisfying life. They did not even prepare the students for making a living. Many of the graduates could find no employment.

The people generally were feeling the pinch of poverty as never before. There was much futile concentration of attention upon the gap between what the people wanted to buy and what they were able to buy. The situation was made more difficult for the Christians by the reduction in funds from America. Propaganda from Russia and China insisted that the church was an economic parasite and that its doctrines were untenable. The church leaders were hesitant. They made no convincing statement of the faith against the background of modern thought. Some denied that the church had any mandate to reform society. Others made large claims concerning the church's power to save society, but failed to relate the church in a helpful way to the most urgent needs of the people. The aim of the enterprise was no longer clear-cut and definite as it had been in the earlier year

of the mission. The result was a steady decline in church membership for four years.

For some years individuals here and there had been convinced that in view of the hard plight of the farmers the church should not confine its work to preaching services and Bible study classes. Gradually they obtained the attention of the church, and the church organization began to lend itself to practical efforts to bring to the farmers of Korea the benefits of the experience of farmers in other lands and the results of the modern scientific study of agriculture. Soon a striking change appeared in the attitude of the people toward their problems and toward the church. Instead of complaining because the church did not provide some mysterious panacea for the relief of their troubles, they began to look to the church with gratitude for efforts that were being made to furnish practical guidance. Life took on a new zest as the people began to experiment hopefully with methods of improving their communities. Those outside the church began to look to it for leadership, and the curve of growth turned upward once more.

THE PROMINENCE OF ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

Changes in the rate of church growth have been due for the most part to changes in the environmental factors and not to changes in the missionary factors. To be sure, the Centenary campaign coincided with the second period of rapid growth, and joined with the favorable environmental factors in accelerating the growth in that period. The changed attitude toward the practical problems of the people, particularly the new program of rural work, seems to be responsible for the upward trend in 1929. But with these two exceptions, no correlation has been discovered between changes in the rate of growth and changes in missionary methods, or in ecclesiastical organization, or in the number of effective missionaries on the field.

The environmental factors that have had the greatest influence on the growth of the church are:

(a) The Direction of the Culture Drift. This has been steadily from the West. There has been no reaction against a cultural invasion from the West like that which at times has been encountered by the missionary movement in China and Japan.

(b) The Wide Area of Agreement between the Ideas and Ideals Current among the Korean People and Those of the Early Missionaries. With reference to (1) the supernatural, (2) socially approved conduct, and (3) the social efficacy of personal goodness. This agreement facilitated the growth of the church until the last period when the old belief in the miraculous and faith in personal righteousness as the solution of social problems, were sharply challenged and both began to waver.

(c) Alien Political Control. The encroachment of Japan from the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war to the Annexation was the chief factor in creating the revolutionary spirit which greatly facilitated the growth of the church in the period 1906-1910.

The fact that the hated alien control had been exercised by a non-Christian nation instead of by a nominally Christian one has saved the church in Korea from the charge of being an agent of Western imperialism, and permitted the patriotic sentiment of the people to be friendly toward the church.

(d) Government Regulations and the Attitude of Government Officials. The higher Japanese officials of the central government have for the most part been friendly or neutral toward the Christian movement. Only at the time of the Conspiracy Case in 1911-1912 and of the Independence Movement in 1919 do we find hostility toward the Christians apparently instigated or countenanced by some of the higher officials of the capital. But the regulations of the government in regard to religious propaganda, schools, hospitals, and publications trammelled the activities of the Christian movement, and the unconcealed animus against the church on the part of many Japanese lower officials who had to do with enforcing the regulations made many people hesitate to

identify themselves with it. This condition prevailed throughout the first period of arrested growth.

(e) Government Schools and Hospitals. In the first period of arrested growth, 1911-1919, these schools and hospitals began to overshadow the mission institutions which up to that time had been the main carriers of the benefits of modern education and modern medicine. The superior position of the government schools checked the current toward the church which had been due to the attraction of its schools. The emphasis upon the separation of religion and education had the effect of discounting religion, and the study of general science, even in the common schools, began to create a mental atmosphere unfavorable to all religion.

(f) The Economic Conditions. In the earlier years of the mission work there were holiday seasons for all the people and slack periods in the calendar of the farmers that afforded leisure for church activities. In later years the struggle for a livelihood grew more intense. The increasing economic strain made it difficult for the Christians to carry on their institutions, and it focussed the attention and desires of the non-Christians upon matters to which the church seemed unrelated. But with the adoption of a program of rural service, the hard economic conditions are becoming an avenue of approach to the people.

(g) Hostile Influences from Abroad. The most virulent of these influences in recent years has been the active anti-religious propaganda from Russia and China and to some extent from Japan. The best defense, of course, is not a counter attack, but a demonstration of the value of the church in mitigating the social ills for which it claims to have a panacea. But even more inimical to the growth of the Christian Church in Korea is the constant pressure of social injustice which seems to pervade the world, and the kaleidoscopic but ever-present picture drawn by the daily press and the motion pictures of a world in all parts of which, West as well as East, the Christian religion appears to be a fragile and exotic plant.

THE CHURCH'S PART IN ITS OWN GROWTH

The growth of the church has depended (1) upon winning converts, and (2) upon holding these converts and their children to the church.

In winning converts the church has often had strong allies in the environmental factors. The periods of rapid growth have been times when large numbers of people thought they saw in the church an agency that would help them to the realization of ardent and newly awakened desires. The longings which led them toward the church were aroused in the main by the political and social conditions, and not by the church itself. The efforts of the church to win converts were successful when they brought the church to the attention of the people as a promising source of help for the satisfaction of desires which had been kindled by other agencies.

In holding converts the church has had no assistance. It is here that the real test comes. And, measured by its power to hold converts, the church in Korea leaves much to be desired. In 1930, after thirty-four years of work, the Southern Methodist Church had on its rolls 7,879 baptised members. But during the thirty-four years 21,030 adults and 8,225 infants, a total of 29,255 persons, had been baptised. These figures show a great loss that cannot be accounted for by deaths and emigration of members. The loss in probationers and seekers was much greater still. This leakage deserves a more careful investigation than it has yet received.

Both the power to hold the gains already made and the ability to win new converts seem to depend primarily upon the way the church is related to the important problems of life that are lifted into prominence by the conditions of the age. Clearly the periods of arrested growth have been times in which the church appeared to be remote from the problems of the day and unrelated to the current desires of the people. And the Christian Church cannot justify its aloofness on the ground that these interests of the people have been unworthy

or trivial. They have been interests of vital concern to the well-being of individuals and families and the nation.

The weakest point in the strategy of missions in Korea, then, is not its technique of winning converts, but the way it relates itself to the life problems of its members. When it has more thoroughly mastered the art of real service under all sorts of conditions, the curve of its growth will be less subject to the influence of environmental factors. The growth of the church depends at last upon its conformity to the law that whoever would be first must be the servant of all.

The main obstacles to the advance of the church today lie in the difficulty that is being experienced in dealing with the intellectual problems and the economic needs of its members. These are not local difficulties confined to Korea. The bafflement and hesitation of the church in Korea are a part of the world situation. In the interlaced world of today a local solution of Korea's economic difficulties and a local settlement of conflicting views of religion and science are both alike impossible.

This does not mean, however, that the church in Korea is impotent. It has no panacea, but it has a gospel of hope and is developing a technique of economic amelioration. The church administers no opiate but it does continue its ancient task of comforting the people and of teaching the secret of Him who said, "In the world ye have tribulations: but be of good cheer; I have overcome the world."

APPENDICES

APPENDICES

A. STATISTICS

I. SOUTHERN METHODIST CHURCH IN KOREA

<i>Year</i>	<i>Members</i>	<i>Probationers</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Baptisms This Yr.</i>		<i>Contributions in Yen</i>
				<i>Adults</i>	<i>Infants</i>	
1897	48	108	156	45	6	132.12
1898	105	200	305	64	30	134.16
1899	149	180	329	60	16	119.71
1900	252	363	615	113	58	204.15
1901	407	492	899	157	109	544.01
1902	454	377	831	104	102	657.77
1903	492	472	964	102	26	504.36
1904	611	392	1,003	168	90	766.41
1905	751	457	1,208	201	68	1,680.71
1906	1,227	1,694	2,921	606	198	3,796.62
1907	1,973	3,025	4,998	712	141	4,751.53
1908	3,545	2,536	6,081	1,459	271	8,768.85
1909	4,657	2,930	7,687	1,326	420	8,658.49
1910	6,017	3,792	9,809	1,582	348	11,849.92
1911	6,743	2,108	8,851	1,311	309	8,638.73
1912	6,912	1,485	8,397	759	293	8,062.92
1913	6,292	1,173	7,465	587	318	13,187.76
1914	5,988	1,230	7,218	241	137	11,231.95
1915	6,187	1,131	7,318	389	267	9,704.07
1916	5,884	1,049	6,933	443	246	11,038.41
1917	5,764	935	6,699	291	240	11,412.46
1918	5,765	966	6,731	293	224	15,995.54
1919	5,077	800	5,877	104	128	15,050.59
1920	5,451	1,025	6,476	457	312	37,281.77
1921	6,875	1,791	8,665	1,472	480	50,497.39
1922	7,409	2,733	10,142	1,236	379	86,472.55
1923	8,354	2,598	10,952	1,293	492	106,877.36
1924	9,121	2,754	11,875	1,196	618	96,772.33
1925	9,324	2,454	11,778	1,072	502	120,723.95
1926	8,733	1,827	10,560	681	253	80,828.94
1927	8,052	1,352	9,404	539	265	78,325.76
1928	7,372	1,259	8,631	588	344	71,257.77
1929	7,630	1,377	9,007	643	303	67,298.24
1930	7,879	1,547	9,426	736	252	64,759.61

2. METHODIST AND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES IN KOREA

<i>Year</i>	<i>Members and Probationers</i>			<i>Adult Baptisms</i>		
	<i>S. M.</i>	<i>N. M.</i>	<i>Presby.</i>	<i>S. M.</i>	<i>N. M.</i>	<i>Presby.</i>
1895-6	0	811	2,530	0	145	210
1896-7	156	1,379	3,276	45	246	347
1897-8	305	2,058	4,899	64	461	1,153
1898-9	329	2,616	6,265	60	460	841
1899-0	615	3,897	7,710	113	580	1,086
1900-1	899	4,768	12,599	157	585	1,368
1901-2	831	5,855	11,963	104	1,005	1,164
1902-3	964	6,915	13,575	102	1,066	1,666
1903-4	1,003	6,985	15,712	168	538	2,067
1904-5	1,208	7,796	19,492	201	1,234	2,463
1905-6	2,921	12,791	26,514	606	1,822	3,436
1906-7	4,998	23,455	37,870	712	3,553	4,585
1907-8	6,081	24,255	48,361	1,459	1,524	7,109
1908-9	7,687	23,243	60,982	1,326	4,774	6,000
1909-10	9,809	24,724	73,184	1,582	2,275	10,082
1910-11	8,851	25,026	82,442	1,311	2,534	9,713
1911-12	8,397	25,818	79,408	759	2,061	8,836
1912-13	7,465	20,375	84,712	587	2,247	7,516
1913-14	7,218	20,770	86,923	241	2,005	6,706
1914-15	7,318	21,051	87,102	389	1,630	7,274
1915-16	6,933	20,579	87,328	443	1,366	6,718
1916-17	6,699	20,263	87,725	291	1,856	8,787
1917-18	6,731	19,571	83,902	293	1,893	9,399
1918-19	5,877	19,287	79,617	104	1,080	7,629
1919-20	6,476	18,589	82,831	457	1,471	8,891
1920-21	8,665	19,985	92,510	1,472	1,753	12,094
1921-22	10,142	18,948	99,897	1,236	2,368	11,008
1922-23	10,952	20,149	104,248	1,293	1,821	14,793
1923-24	11,875	20,144	103,479	1,196	2,048	13,675
1924-25	11,778	19,480	105,244	1,072	1,766	12,958
1925-26	10,560	19,063	103,978	681	1,841	13,342
1926-27	9,404	17,522	98,375	539	1,720	12,374
1927-28	8,631	15,214		588	1,349	
1928-29	9,007	14,118	114,056	643	1,527	
1929-30	9,426	13,880	125,479	736		

S. M., Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

N. M., Methodist Episcopal Church.

Presby., Presbyterian Church of Korea.

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